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ABSTRACT

This unit covers the tumultuous period of 1894-1945 in modern Japanese history. The curriculum unit includes an assortment of Japanese arguments for and against government policies of expansion and war. The unit introduces a wide variety of Japanese materials, ranging from paintings to fiction to personal memoirs, that can enhance students' understanding of the richness and complexity of Japanese life during this period. Students interpret the materials and draw generalizations from them. There are four lessons in the packet. Lesson 1, "Why Empire? Why War?" challenges students to argue both for and against Japan's expansion into mainland Asia and the Pacific, from various Japanese points of view. Lesson 2, "Patriotism Reflected in Art and Literature," asks students to recognize the range of Japanese expressions of patriotism and reactions to the government's appeals to patriotism. Lesson 3, "Who Were the Non-Conformists? The Dissidents?" introduces students to individuals, both real and fictional, who chose not to conform to the Japanese government's standards for behavior during the Imperial period. In the final lesson of the unit, "The Social and Cultural Scene," students use art and literature of the Imperial period to explore domestic issues of importance to Japanese society. (EH)

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Imperial Japan

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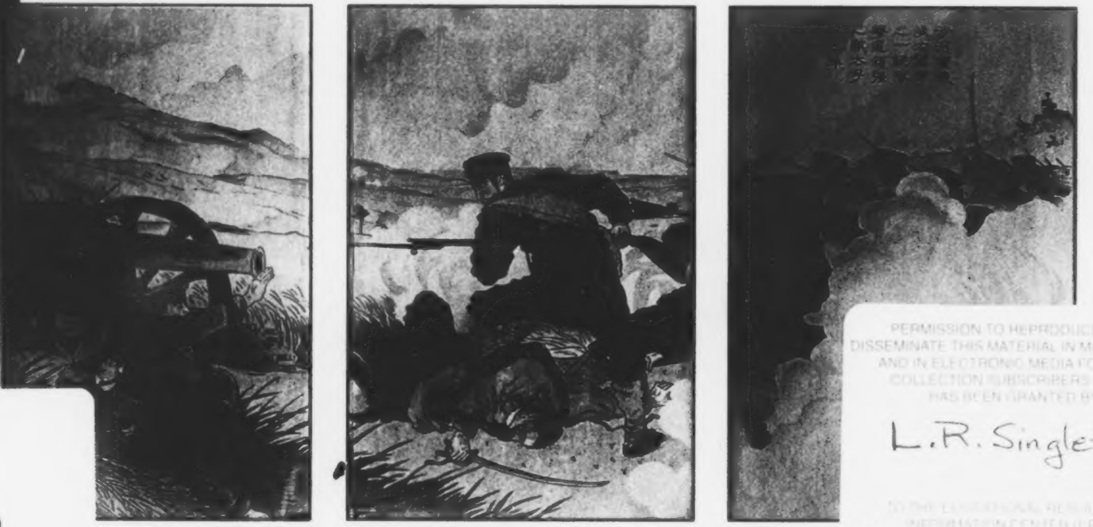

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A Humanities Approach to Japanese History, Part III

Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado

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Imperial Japan:
Expansion and War

A Humanities Approach to Japanese History, Part III

by
Jonathan N. Lipman, Kathleen Woods Masalski, and Alan Chalk

Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado
1995

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ORDERING INFORMATION

This publication is the third of a three-part series entitled ***A Humanities Approach to Japanese History***. Other titles in the series include:

Tokugawa Japan: The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Society (Part I)
Meiji Japan: The Dynamics of National Change (Part II)

To order any one or all of the titles in this series, contact the Social Science Education Consortium, 3300 Mitchell Lane, Suite 240, Boulder, CO 80301-2296.

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Introduction to the Unit

A Humanities Approach to Japanese History

The study of other countries and their histories may be greatly enriched by a humanities approach which draws on the fields of literature, history, and art. The humanities reveal the values and beliefs that underlie social, political, and economic institutions. They provide a lens for looking at another culture in a way that develops multi-layered understandings. As Betty Bullard and Loretta Ryan have written:

> A people's values are expressed through many channels. In their literature—their novels, poems, plays, and essays—they portray life as they have come to experience it. Their fine arts—their drawings, paintings, and sculpture—tell us how a people actually *see* the world. Their music reveals what sounds their ears find most pleasing or most interesting; their architecture—their sense of form in space. And their written alphabet is an important clue to the depth and nature of their contacts with other peoples and cultures.[1]

In a speech to the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities in 1991, Harold M. Williams spoke of the link between the humanities and the development of historical and global perspectives essential to 21st-century citizenship:

> The arts define what we mean by civilization. They are part of the foundation and framework of our culture. As a universal language through which we can express our common aspirations, the arts are a channel to understanding and appreciating other cultures. . . .
>
> Art history opens the child's imagination to other eras and cultures. If students of the next century are to work and live productively side by side with others from different cultures, they must respect and appreciate cultural differences and, at the same time, discern what they share in common with other people.[2]

Students with knowledge of a culture developed through the study of humanities not only will be better able to communicate with people from that culture but will better comprehend the institutions within which they live and work.

---

[1] Betty Bullard and Loretta Ryan, "Introduction: Global Perspectives Through Asian Experiences," *Intercom 89*, 1978, p. 2.

[2] Harold M. Williams, "The Language of Civilization: The Vital Role of Arts in Education." Remarks presented at the Plenary Meeting XXIV of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, October 1991, New York City.

Between 1992 and 1994, the Social Science Education Consortium received funding from the U.S. Department of Education to develop a multi-unit curriculum designed to assist teachers in integrating a humanities approach into the teaching of Japanese history. This project, *A Humanities Approach to Japanese History*, was conducted in cooperation with the Denver Art Museum and consultants from national and regional Japan studies projects. The project resulted in the publication of three supplementary curriculum units suitable for use in high school and community college courses. The units are: *Tokugawa Japan: The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Society*; *Meiji Japan: The Dynamics of National Change*; and *Imperial Japan: Expansion and War.*

Introduction to the Imperial Japan Unit

What does it mean to be Japanese? How have Japanese people perceived and defined themselves and their nation through significant periods in modern history? These questions set the stage for a humanities approach to the study of Japanese history and provide the organizing theme for this unit and the three-part curriculum program.

Imperial Japan: Expansion and War, Part III in this series, covers a tumultuous period in modern Japanese history. At one point during the period, the Japanese empire extended from the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska all the way to the British military base at Singapore. Over the 52 years covered by this curriculum unit, Japan was involved in four major wars.

The first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) ended with Japanese victory and the taking of Taiwan as a colony. The Treaty of Portsmouth was signed following Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 (Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905), giving Japan control over Korea and the Liaodong Peninsula in China. During World War I (1914-1918), Japan fought on the side of the Allies. The second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the Pacific War against the Americans (1941-1945), both of which resulted in further expansion, ended with Japan's surrender in 1945 to the Allied forces of World War II.

Answering questions about Japan during its Imperial period requires not only facts such as dates, industrial production statistics, or treaty texts, but also an understanding of Japanese views of Japan's position in Asia and of Japanese culture itself. Using the evidence and discussion topics in this unit, students can begin to build a picture of Japan on its road to world power. The selections supplement the dominant narrative of motion pictures, comic books, and textbook summaries in this country. Students learn that during the period, in a nation where most people did and believed as they were told by their government, attitudes toward expansion, war, internationalism, and related domestic issues—as well as political behaviors—varied widely from individual to individual.

This curriculum unit includes an assortment of Japanese arguments for and against government policies of expansion and war. But not all Japanese life revolved around war or

Japan's relations with other nations or other peoples. The selections, therefore, go beyond expansion and war, persuading readers to view the Japanese as real people, even in a period when they were becoming America's avowed enemies. Students are encouraged to see the Japanese they "meet" in the period's history, art, and literature as interesting individuals rather than as a racially and culturally defined, homogeneous enemy.

The purpose of this unit lies not in justifying Japan's behavior, or America's, or any actors' in the past. Rather, it asks students to learn to "read" many kinds of documents, both verbal and visual, with skill and empathy. The unit introduces a wide variety of Japanese materials, ranging from paintings to fiction to personal memoirs, which can enhance students' understanding of the richness and complexity of Japanese life during this period. Like historians, students interpret the materials and draw generalizations from them.

In brief: In Lesson 1, "Why Empire? Why War?", students learn to argue both for and against Japan's expansion into mainland Asia and the Pacific, from various Japanese points of view. Lesson 2, "Patriotism Reflected in Art and Literature," asks students to recognize the range of Japanese expressions of patriotism and reactions to the government's appeals to patriotism. Lesson 3, "Who Were the Non-Conformists? The Dissidents?", introduces students to individuals, both real and fictional, who chose not to conform to the Japanese government's standards for behavior during the Imperial period. In the final lesson of the unit, "The Social and Cultural Scene," students use art and literature of the Imperial period to explore domestic issues of importance to Japanese society.

A note on sources: When defining words and writing short biographies, we looked first to Japanese sources, in particular, *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*. Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1983.

Unit Goals

The three curriculum units in *A Humanities Approach to Japanese History* address the following common instructional goals.

Students will be able to:

- recognize and analyze art and literature as reflections of fundamental cultural values, belief systems, and social goals;
- appreciate the ways that a nation's art and literature reflect and respond to events and issues in that nation's political and social development;
- discuss the relationships and interaction among various parts of Japan's cultural life; and
- develop attitudes and skills that support multiple perspective-taking—the ability and willingness to consider issues from the viewpoints of different cultures and groups.

In addition to these shared goals, *Imperial Japan: Expansion and War* addresses several specific instructional objectives. Through the completion of all or parts of this unit, students will be able to:

- analyze arguments for and against expansion and war in late 19th and early to mid-20th century Japan;
- locate areas of European, American, and Japanese expansion on the Asian mainland and in the Pacific region in the late 19th and early to mid-20th centuries;
- define patriotism and censorship and consider their relative importance in Japan during the Imperial period;
- identify examples of non-conforming and dissident behavior in Japan during the Imperial period;
- evaluate multiple Japanese perspectives on subjects indirectly related to expansion and war, ranging from Westernization to modernization to internationalization;
- recognize conflicts (and the reasons behind them) within and between groups and individuals in Japan as the country Westernized, modernized, and internationalized; and
- explain the value and pitfalls of using artistic works as a means to understanding the past.

Teacher Notes

Introductory essay. The unit begins with a short essay providing an overview of significant events and trends of the period. This essay is designed to provide the teacher with essential background information before beginning the unit; it may also be assigned as an introductory reading for students.

Lesson format. The four lessons in this unit follow a standard format. Each lesson provides a brief introduction, followed by a statement of learning objectives, a list of necessary materials, an approximate guide to class time required, a procedure section for teachers, and additional resources. Background readings, slide scripts, and answer keys for student activities are provided for each lesson following the procedure section. Student handouts conclude each lesson.

Grade level/subject area. This unit is designed for social studies, world history, Asian studies, or humanities courses at grades 10-12; it may be used effectively in introductory courses in community colleges as well.

Handouts and slides. Handouts and slides are identified by a lesson number and letter. For example, Handout 1A is the first handout in Lesson 1; Handout 4C is the third handout in Lesson 4.

Answer keys/student responses. In the procedure section of each lesson, possible student responses to discussion questions are written in italics. On handout answer keys, student responses are also in italics.

Japanese names. Following the Japanese practice, we have listed Japanese names in the text with the family name first, followed by given name. This is the reverse of the U.S. practice of given name first, followed by family name, e.g., ONO Yoko vs. John LENNON. However, in the case of citations and references to works published in English by Japanese authors, the author is cited in the order used by the publisher, which is generally English name order.

Japanese terms. In this unit, Japanese terms are italicized only the first time they appear in teacher materials and the first time they appear in student handouts, except in those instances when a term appears italicized in quotations, book excerpts, or book titles.

Plurals. In this unit, Japanese nouns are written the same in singular or plural form, as in Japanese grammar. For example, the term *samurai* may refer to one person or several. Meaning is evident from the verb and the context. Thus, "samurai were the warrior class in feudal Japan."

Chinese terms. Two systems of transliteration are used for Chinese words. The older is called Wade-Giles, after its two originators. The newer system, developed in the mid-20th century by the People's Republic of China for international use, is called *pinyin*. In this unit, Chinese terms are written in *pinyin* transliteration with the following exceptions.

The *Analects of Confucius* are excerpted from the 1938 translation by Arthur Waley, which is considered to be the academic standard. Waley used the Wade-Giles system of transliteration. The names of Chinese Nationalist Party figures, including Chiang Kai-shek, are written in the transliteration used by the Republic of China on Taiwan.

Pagination. Handouts show the handout page number at top left, the unit page at center bottom.

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Pronunciation Guide for Japanese Terms

Vowels

There are five vowel sounds in Japanese—a, i, u, e, o—which are pronounced as follows:

a as in aloud

i as a long e, as in bee

u as in rude

e as in pet

o as in old

Long marks, or macrons, over vowels indicate that the sound should be held for twice its normal duration. Within the text of this unit, we have included macrons for all necessary Japanese names and places, with the exception of place names or terms that are very familiar to the American reader such as Tokyo (Tōkyō), Kyoto (Kyōto), Osaka (Ōsaka), Hokkaido (Hokkaidō), and Shinto (Shintō).

Consonants

Consonants generally have the same sounds as in English. The letter "g" is always a hard sound, as in "good."

Intonation

Japanese words are pronounced with equal emphasis on each syllable.

Japanese Names, Places, Terms Used in This Unit	**Pronunciation**
Akira	Ah-key-rah
Amaterasu	Ah-mah-teh-rah-sue
Ariki Shigeko	Ah-ree-key Shee-gay-koh
Arita Hachiro	Ah-ree-tah Hah-chee-roh
Ariyoshi Sawako	Ah-ree-yoh-shee Sah-wah-koh
banzai	bahnz-eye
Chūō kōron	Choo-oh koh-ron
Daikichi	Dye-kee-chee
Eiji	Eh-ee-jee

Eiko	Eh-ee-koh
Fuji	Foo-jee
Fujiko	Foo-jee-koh
Fukuzawa Yukichi	Foo-koo-zah-wah You-key-chee
Fumio	Foo-mee-oh
Fushimi	Foo-shee-mee

Hagiwara Sakutaro	Hah-gee-wah-rah Sah-koo-tah-roh
haiku	high-koo
hakama	hah-kah-mah
Hakko Maru	Hah-koh Mah-roo
Hamaguchi	Hah-ma-goo-chee
Hana	Hah-nah
Hane Mikiso	Hah-nay Mee-kee-soh
Hanyū no Yado	Hahn-you-no-yah-doh
haori	hah-oh-ree
Hara Yoshimichi	Hah-rah Yoh-shee-mee-chee
Haruko Taya	Hah-roo-koh Tah-yah
Haruo	Hah-roo-oh
Hashirajima	Hah-shee-rah-jee-mah
Hiroshima	Hero-shee-ma
Hirohito	Hero-hee-toe
Hokkaido	Hohk-eye-doh
Hoshino Naoki	Hoh-shee-noh Nah-oh-key

Ienaga Saburō	Ee-ay-nah-gah Sah-boo-roh
Ikeda Enji	Ee-kay-dah En-jee
Imamura Chūsuke	Ee-mah-moo-rah Choo-skay
Inagawa	Ee-nah-gah-wah
Inukai	Ee-nooh-kye
Isao	Ee-sah-oh
Ise	Ee-say
Isokichi	Ee-soh-key-chee
Jimmu	Jee-moo
jōi	joe-ee

Kairakuen	Kye-rah-koo-en
Kajitsu Susuma	Kah-jee-tsoo Sue-sue-mah
kamikaze	kah-mee-kah-zeh
Kansai	Kahn-sigh
Kantō	Kahn-toe
Kataoka	Kah-tah-oh-kah
Katsura	Kah-tsoo-rah
Ki	Key
Kichiji	Key-chee-jee
Kimie	Key-mee-eh

kimono	kee-moh-noh
Kinkakuji	Keen-kah-koo-jee
Kinoshita Keisuke	Key-noh-shta Kay-skay
Kobayashi Takiji	Koh-bah-yah-shee Tah-kah-jee
Koji	Koh-jee
Kokuryukai	Koh-koo-ryoo-kye
kokutai	koh-koo-tie
Konoe Fumimaro	Koh-noh-eh Foo-mee-mah-roh
Kotoe	Koh-toe-eh
Kurahara	Koo-rah-hah-rah
Kurihara Sadako	Koo-ree-hah-rah Sah-dah-koh
Kyoto	Kyoh-toe

Mainichi	My-ee-nee-chee
Makioka	Mah-key-oh-kah
Manshūkoku	Mahn-shoe-koh-koo
Matani	Mah-tah-nee
Matsuo Isao	Mah-tsoo-oh Ee-sah-oh
Matsuoka Yōsuke	Mah-tsoo-oh-kah Yoh-skay
Meiji	May-jee
Meiji-Mura	May-jee-moo-rah
Mie	Mee-eh
Mishima Yukio	Mee-shee-mah You-key-oh
Mitsui	Mee-tsoo-ee
Mitsubishi	Mee-tsoo-bee-shee
Mizushima	Mee-zoo-shee-mah
mobo	moh-boh
modan gaaru	moh-dahn gah-roo
moga	moh-gah
Mori Arinori	Moh-ree Ah-ree-noh-ree
Motofuji	Moh-toh-foo-jee
Muraki-ya	Moo-rah-key-yah
Musota	Moo-soh-tah

Nagasaki	Nah-gah-sah-key
Nagatsuka	Nah-gah-tsoo-kah
Naka-chō	Nah-kah-choh
Nara	Nah-rah
Natsume Sōseki	*Nah-tsoo-may Soh-seh-key*
Nichidai	Nee-chee-dye
Nihon	Nee-hohn
Nogi	Noh-gee
Nogi Harumichi	Noh-gee Hah-roo-mee-chee
Oda	Oh-dah
Ohyakudo-mode	Oh-yah-koo-doh-moh-deh
Oishi	Oh-ee-shee

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Okabe	Oh-kah-beh
Okinawa	Oh-key-nah-wah
Onchi Koshiro	On-chee Ko-shee-roh
Ōsaka	Oh-sah-kah
Otaru	Oh-tah-roo
Ōtsuka Kusuoka	Oh-tso-kah Koo-sue-oh-kah
oyasumi nasai	oh-yah-sue-mee nah-sigh
reisei	ray-say
Ryukichi	Ryoo-kee-chee
Sakaki	Sah-kah-key
samurai	sah-moo-rye
Sasakawa Ryoichi	Sah-sah-kah-wah Ryoh-ee-chee
Saitō Ryokū	Sigh-toe Ryoh-koo
Sawa	Sah-wah
seppuku	seh-p'koo
Shiba	Shee-bah
Shidehara Kijuro	Shee-day-hah-rah Key-joo-roh
Shimada	Shee-mah-dah
Shimazaki Tōson	Shee-mah-zah-key Toe-sohn
Shimonoseki	Shee-moh-noh-seh-key
Shinji	Sheen-jee
Shinto	Sheen-toe
shoji	show-jee
Shōwa	Show-wah
Sumitomo	Sue-mee-toh-moh
Tadashi	Tah-dah-shee
Taishō	Tye-show
Takahira	Tah-kah-hee-rah
Takarazuka	Tah-kah-rah-zoo-kah
Takeichi	Tah-kay-ee-chee
Takeyama Michio	Tah-kay-yah-mah Mee-chee-oh
Tameike	Tah-may-keh
Tamura	Tah-moo-rah
Tanizaki Junichirō	Tah-nee-zah-key Joo-nee-chee-roh
Tanko	Tahn-koh
tatami	tah-tah-mee
Tayama Katai	Tah-yah-mah Kah-tye
Togo	Toe-goh
Tōjō Hideki	Toe-joe Hee-deh-key
Tokyo	Toe-kyoh
Tone	Toh-nay
Tsuboi Sakae	Tsoo-boy Sah-kah-eh
Tsumura	Tsoo-moo-rah

Wakayama	Wah-kah-yah-mah
Yamamoto	Yah-mah-moh-toe
Yamamoto Isoroku	Yah-mah-moh-toe Ee-soh-roh-koo
Yamato damashī	Yah-mah-toe dah-mah-shee
Yasukuni	Yah-sue-koo-nee
Yokoyama Taikan	Yoh-koh-yah-mah Tye-kahn
Yoshida	Yoh-shee-dah
Yoshihisa	Yoh-shee-hee-sah
Yoshikuni	Yoh-shee-koo-nee

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Glossary

The following words appear in lessons throughout the Imperial Japan curriculum unit. In most cases, terms of Japanese origin are also defined within the context of specific lessons.

ABCD Powers: America, Britain, China, and the Dutch East Indies; also called the ABCD bloc. Their encirclement of Japan in the late 1930s threatened Japan's economy and strengthened the Anglo-American presence in Asia and the Pacific.

Amaterasu: the mythical ancestor of Japan's Imperial family; the principal female goddess of the Shinto religion, identified with the sun.

Anarchists: ones who rebel against authority, ruling power, or government, especially those who use violence to overthrow the established order.

Beriberi: a deficiency disease marked by inflammation of the nerves, digestive system and heart, and caused by a lack of thiamine (Vitamin B).

Chiang Kai-shek: Chinese military leader and statesman. Leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party; Generalissimo (commander) of the Chinese army who fought against Japan and the Chinese Communists during the 1930s and '40s. After 1949, Chiang and his government were based on the island of Taiwan.

China Incident: marked the outbreak of what is known in Japan as the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945. The outbreak of firing occurred near what Westerners call the Marco Polo Bridge, southwest of Beijing, China.

Communists: members of a political party or movement based on a Marxist theory advocating the elimination of private property; in Imperial Japan, communists were seen as a left-wing, subversive, anti-government faction.

Eight Corners of the World Under One Roof: apparently coincides with boundaries of the *Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere*. This slogan was used by the Japanese government during World War II to express the idea of a politically and economically integrated Asia, free from Western domination and under Japanese leadership. It was also used to rationalize Japan's expansionist ambitions on the continent of Asia.

Fifteen-Year War: a term sometimes used to describe the period of Japanese involvement in World War II, 1931-1945. The term is not generally accepted by the Japanese public.

Generalissimo: chief commander of an army.

Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere: a slogan used by the Japanese government during World War II to express the idea of a politically and economically integrated Asia, free from

Western domination and under Japanese leadership; it was also used to justify Japan's expansionist ambitions on the continent of Asia.

Gurkhas: soldiers from Nepal in the British Army.

Haiku: an unrhymed verse formed of three lines containing five, seven, and five syllables respectively; also a poem with the same characteristics.

Hanyū no yado: loosely translated as "home, sweet home."

Imperial Rescript to the Military: document issued by Emperor Meiji in January 1882. Intended as the official code of ethics for all soldiers and sailors; often named as a document containing the ideology that defined service to the state in terms of absolute loyalty to the emperor.

Jimmu: the legendary first sovereign, or emperor, of Japan.

Jōi: a Japanese term meaning "to expel the barbarians." This term was applied to one school of thought on how to deal with the threat of Western powers who wanted to open Japan to trade in the late Tokugawa period, 1850s-1860s.

Kamikaze: meaning literally "wind of the gods," or "the divine wind." The term applies to a strong prevailing wind off the Japanese coast. It also refers to the storms that twice destroyed much of the invading Mongol fleets off Japan's coast in the 13th century. During World War II, the term was applied to the pilots who attacked Allied ships in suicide dives in planes loaded with explosives.

Kantō: Japan's largest plain, located on the Pacific seaboard on Honshū, the main island.

Kokutai: literally, "the national body," this term came to represent the unity and homogeneity of the Japanese people and state. Coined during the Meiji period, it became a constant theme in nationalist and later ultranationalist writings and propaganda.

Kuomintang: (Guomindang) the Chinese Nationalist Party and government, led by Chiang Kai-shek from the 1920s into the 1950s. After 1949, the Kuomintang state and party were based on the island of Taiwan.

Manchurian Incident: an attack by elements of the Japanese army on the Chinese garrison at Mukden in September 1931. It moved Japan toward further confrontation and war with China.

Meiji period: the beginning of the modern period of Japanese history. This period began in 1868 when the new emperor took the name Meiji ("Enlightened Rule") for his reign and ended with that emperor's death in July 1912. The Meiji period saw the transformation of feudal Japan into a modern industrial state with a parliamentary form of government.

Mobo: slang term meaning modern boy, popular in Japan in the 1920s and '30s.

Modan gaaru or *moga*: slang term meaning modern girl, popular in Japan in the 1920s and '30s.

Oyasumi nasai: a Japanese idiom meaning "good night." Also, the title of a song Japanese children learned in school throughout World War II.

Persia: present-day Iran.

Privy Council: a senior-level body that consulted with the emperor and the government. Established in 1889, it went out of existence during the Allied Occupation in 1947 after the ratification of Japan's current constitution.

Proletarian: a member of the lowest social or economic class of a community, or the laboring class, especially the class of industrial workers; often associated with communism.

Reisei: serene, or in the modern sense, cool.

Russo-Japanese War: war between Japan and Russia for control over Korea and Manchuria, February 1904-September 1905. Negotiations were held in August 1904 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire where the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed, ending the war. Japan won Russian acceptance of its exclusive rights in Korea, Russia's leases in Port Arthur and Dalian, southern Sakhalin, and control of the South Manchuria Railway.

Sakaki sprigs: sprigs from a low evergreen tree of the tea family which grows wild in mountain woods in warm areas in Japan. The ancient idea that gods dwell in evergreen trees led the Japanese to use this tree to note sacred space or as an offering to the deities in Shinto rituals.

Sakhalin: an elongated island north of Hokkaido, Japan, separated from the continent of Asia by a narrow strait. As a result of the Russo-Japanese War, Japan maintained control of less than half of the island.

Shinto: the religion native to Japan. Shinto is a complex system of religious practices that became associated with the Japanese state until the post-World War II period when it became simply one religion among others practiced in Japan.

Shōwa Era (period): the reign of Emperor Hirohito, 1926-1989. The Shōwa reign was the longest imperial reign in Japanese history, and one of the most tumultuous, covering Japan's involvement in World War II as well as several decades of post-WWII peace and miraculous economic growth.

Siam: present-day Thailand.

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(The second) Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945): war between Japan and China, fought on the Chinese mainland by forces of the Japanese Imperial Army against Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist army and Mao Zedong's communist army centered in Yan'an.

Tatami: straw matting used as floor covering in Japanese homes.

Tripartite Pact: military agreement signed by Japan, Germany, and Italy in Berlin in September 1940. Essentially, the agreement centered on the redivision of the world by the three signatory countries and a military alliance primarily against the United States. As a result, the world was divided into the main camps of Axis and Allied powers.

Yamato: the name that refers in its broadest sense to the country of Japan or to things Japanese, especially in contrast to things Chinese. *Yamato damashī* refers to the "Spirit of Japan."

Yasukuni Shrine: Shinto shrine in Tokyo, dedicated to the spirits of those who died since 1853 in Japan's wars. After World War II, the government was forced to end all support for the shrine, which has since been made a private religious organization.

21

Introductory Essay
Imperial Japan, 1894-1945

Jonathan N. Lipman

Between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the mid-20th century, Japan created an enormous empire stretching from Alaska to Singapore, controlling as much territory and as many people as any of the great powers of Europe. Why did Japan's leaders choose to develop an industrial economy and a powerful military machine in the late 19th century? How did they succeed? Why did they decide to overpower their neighbors and gradually to take their territory, beginning with the island of Taiwan, then Korea, then part of mainland China, the Philippines, most of the Pacific Islands, and more? What led Japan into its ill-fated war with the United States?

Answering questions like these requires not only "facts" such as industrial production statistics or treaty texts or numbers of aircraft carriers, but also an understanding of Japan's view of its position in Asia and of Japanese culture itself. This unit introduces a wide variety of Japanese materials, ranging from paintings to fiction to personal memoirs, which can enhance students' understanding of the richness and complexity of Japanese life during this tumultuous period. These cultural selections also allow the American reader to humanize the Japanese, even in a period when they were becoming our avowed enemies, and to see people from this most "foreign" of places as unique individuals rather than as a racially defined, homogeneous enemy. Using the evidence and discussion topics in this unit, students in the United States can begin to build a picture of Japan on its road to World War II that is very different from the dominant narrative of motion pictures, comic books, and textbook summaries. That story, with its clear good guys and bad guys, its black-and-white portrayal of Japan as an agent of evil, cannot stand up to historical inquiry, especially if we consider the Japanese to be human beings. Our purpose lies not in justifying the behavior of the Japanese, or the Americans, or any actors in the past; rather, we want students to learn to "read" many kinds of documents, both verbal and visual, with skill and empathy. The timeline on page 19 gives teachers an outline of the major political and military events of the period; this introductory essay will fill in some of the causes and controversies surrounding them.

Japan's Early Motivation for Empire

After 1868, the new leaders of Meiji Japan worked hard to improve their country's status in the world and to abolish the inequality imposed on them by the United States and the European powers. They watched nervously as Southeast Asia came under French rule, Russia moved rapidly into Manchuria (northeast China), the United States pushed westward from California to Hawaii, and Britain fought two wars to advance its interests in China. What strategies could Japan use to preserve its own independence? What models of international behavior could it follow? Historians have advanced many reasons why Japan industrialized, built up its military, and expanded its interests and its territory outside its "home islands." The materials in Lesson 1 enable students to explore this issue and discover a variety of Japanese arguments for and against expansion and war during the period that spans the late Meiji period to the War in the Pacific (1880s-1940s).

The need for national security haunted the leaders of late Meiji Japan. They had begun a nationwide program of Western-style industrialization in order to defend against the foreigners—to *jōi*, "expel the barbarians." Looking outward from their islands they saw Korea and China overwhelmed by Western enemies, unwilling or unable to defend themselves and offering to Britain and Russia the opportunity to set their sights on Japan. They worried especially about Korea, which looked like a "dagger pointing at the heart of Japan." (A look at any map of East Asia will confirm this!) As early as 1873, many of Japan's new leaders planned a quick invasion of Korea for two main reasons: to combat a Russian or Chinese takeover and to give their impatient *samurai* warriors a noble mission. But calmer ideas won out, and the invasion was postponed until Japan was more independent in weapons and military strategy.

By 1894, the army and navy had met that goal by purchasing and manufacturing modern weapons and by reorganizing the military along European lines. Meanwhile, China and Korea had weakened further still. Claiming to be aiding a pro-Japanese group in Korea's government, Japan sent armed forces to attack both Korea's national army and the Chinese troops that came to their aid. Japan's victory was rapid and total, on land and sea, demonstrating the effectiveness of Western science and technology in Asian hands. Through a peace treaty, Japan took as colonies the island of Taiwan and the Liaodong peninsula, both parts of China, as well as a huge sum of money. Japan also ended Chinese power in Korea. By looking at the map, however, we can see that Japan's victory in Korea directly threatened one of the expanding European empires, Russia. With help from Germany and France, Russia pressured Japan to return Liaodong to China in exchange for more cash. Much of the Japanese public, delighted by Japan's victory and the excitement of the war, rioted against the government for giving in to the foreigners' demands.

Japan had its chance for revenge a decade later. After careful planning, an alliance with England, and a very costly military build-up, Japan went to war with Russia in 1904. Land campaigns in northeast China resulted in gradual success, but with thousands of lives lost; the Japanese navy provided the crucial difference. Under Admiral Togo, Japanese forces intercepted the Russian Baltic Fleet, which had steamed all the way around Africa to reach the Pacific, and destroyed that fleet. Both sides, tired of the war, sought the assistance of United States President Theodore Roosevelt, who helped them work out a treaty. The treaty gave Japan control over Korea and southern Manchuria and possession of the southern half of Sakhalin Island, but provided no cash payments despite Japanese victories. Again, the Japanese public felt that Japan had not received its due, and rioting broke out in the major cities.

Some scholars believe that the leaders of Japan intended from the beginning to establish an empire outside the home islands, while others contend that Japan's overseas expansion was unplanned. But however it may have originated, the idea of Japan as the powerful center of a revived Asia found fertile soil among the Japanese people. As the nation won these initial wars, Japan's interests in Korea, China, and Southeast Asia expanded,

Time Line: Japan, 1894-1945

1894-95	First Sino-Japanese War, ending with Japanese victory, the Treaty of Shimonoseki, and the taking of Taiwan as a colony.
1902	Alliance between Japan and England ensures Japan of British support against Russia.
1904-05	Russo-Japanese War, ending with Japanese victory, the Treaty of Portsmouth, and Japan's control over Korea and the Liaodong Peninsula.
1910	Japan takes Korea as a colony.
1912	Death of the Meiji Emperor, suicide of General Nogi.
1915	Japan issues "21 Demands" to China, taking greater control over the Manchurian and North Chinese economies.
1924-25	Japanese government grants universal male suffrage and reinforces laws restricting free speech, free assembly, and the press.
1929	Great Depression brings hard times to Japan's export-oriented economy, increases pressure for self-sufficiency in natural resources.
1931	Japanese army takes Manchuria (northeast China), which Japan establishes as an "independent" state, resulting in Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations.
1936	Young army officers stage a coup in Tokyo which, despite its failure, enhances the centrality of the military in Japanese politics.
1936	Japan formalizes its alliance with Nazi Germany.
1937	Japanese army attacks North and Central China, driving the Nationalist government west and massacring civilians at Nanjing.
1939-41	United States President Roosevelt forbids export of strategic commodities (scrap iron, oil) to Japan in protest against Japan's occupation of China.
1941	Japan attacks United States fleet at Pearl Harbor.
1942	Japanese armies take the Philippines, Hong Kong, the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, and the Pacific Islands.
1943-44	American and Allied forces retake Pacific Islands, gradually destroy Japan's merchant shipping and Japan's access to industrial resources.
1945	American bombers destroy Tokyo, and American army and marines take Okinawa. After refusing to surrender unconditionally, Japan becomes the first inhabited target of atomic bombs, with destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
8/15/45	Japan surrenders to Allied forces.

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and so did the Japanese people's view of their own security. Korea was the first area of concern, followed by Taiwan, Manchuria, Shandong, the entire China coast, and finally the Philippines and Dutch East Indies. Anxious about supplies of raw materials necessary for industrial development (especially coal, iron, rubber, and oil), afraid of Western involvement, and inspired by military success, Japanese corporations and the Japanese military moved rapidly to secure zones of influence all over East Asia. Colonists went abroad in large numbers, taking their wealth or their labor with them and establishing communities which demanded and received protection from the Japanese state. More and more Japanese troops went overseas to secure the safety of Japanese industries and civilians.

Mobilizing the Nation for Empire Building

The engagement of government, private business, schools, and ordinary citizens in Japan's overseas empire, as well as the riots which occurred when Japan's honor was not respected, reveal a deep patriotism and nationalism among ordinary Japanese, an emotion very important to the Meiji government. Using a variety of tools—especially public education, well-controlled media, veterans' associations, and local religious institutions—the government planted in many (some say most) Japanese a deep emotional tie to the emperor, to the government, and to the idea of Japan itself—the *kokutai*, or "uniquely Japanese" nation. This provided an effective motivation for people to sacrifice, to be patriotic, to lay down their lives or their work for their country. Lesson 2 of this unit explores patriotism in Japan's Imperial period.

Though many people resisted the government's well-planned campaign for national loyalty, it certainly convinced the majority of Japanese that their country was superior to others, an idea which also had deep roots in Japan's history. Westerners could be admired for their technology and knowledge, but many Japanese believed that only they possessed the special warrior spirit of an unconquered people, with its single and uninterrupted family line of emperors descended, in ancient legends, from *Amaterasu*, the goddess of the sun. Some Japanese, however, noticed that powerful people in Japan became wealthy through corruption or political influence, and that workers and farmers received only a tiny wage for their patriotic labor. Convinced that this inequality had to be corrected before Japan could be a great nation, they tried to make their voices heard; but without a free press or academic freedom, they could not reach most of the Japanese people. Lesson 3 introduces students to some of these dissident voices.

When the Meiji Emperor died in 1912, many Japanese felt a terrible sense of loss, for the figure of the emperor, however little real power he may have had, represented Japan's new international success. Ordinary people lined up outside the Imperial Palace in Tokyo to pay their respects. General Nogi, a hero of the war against Russia, committed suicide with his wife, an act widely admired by the public. Famous writers found themselves drawn back into Japanese traditions after decades of fascination with the United States and Europe. Japanese literary works after 1912 reflect a deepening sense of the value of Japan's past and the nation's importance in the writers' sense of who they were as individuals. Using this nationalism to their advantage, Japan's leaders could rely on their people's loyalty to the government. These leaders continued Japan's quest for wealth and power under the Taishō

Emperor (1912-1926), a weak and unstable character. Inspired by Western ideas, some Japanese politicians formed parties to participate in elections to the national parliament, called the Diet, while others opposed the government because they thought it was corrupt.

World War I, the "war to end all wars" in Europe, gave Japan a new opportunity to gain wealth. With all the European powers needing military supplies, the Japanese moved rapidly into the world's weapons markets and provided goods and shipping. Japanese exports almost tripled in only four years. Taking advantage of Europe's internal conflicts, Japan moved into an Asian power vacuum and demanded that the Chinese government turn over much of its economic and political power to Japan. The weak, divided government of China had to submit to Japan's superior economic and military strength. At the same time, however, Japan's invasions and arrogant behavior in China caused many Chinese to join nationalist movements of their own. In Korea, too, resistance to Japanese occupation took many forms, so the Japanese forces fought back by killing and jailing many civilians.

These overseas conflicts coincided with growing social movements in Japan itself. Many parts of society—workers, farmers, intellectuals, suffragists, and others—disagreed with the government's call for complete obedience and unity. Young people in the cities (called "modern boys" and "modern girls") saw Western movies, wore the latest fashions, and bought products advertised in glossy magazines. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Japanese socialists and communists tried to form unions for factory workers, to obtain better wages or working conditions, or to influence the government. Some women became authors, leaders of social groups, even politicians, despite great social pressure to conform to the ideal of "good wife and wise mother." Intellectuals and professors taught a wide range of topics, including Marxism, Darwin's theory of evolution, Woodrow Wilson's internationalism, and even Freudian psychology. Great corporations—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Sumitomo among them—organized industry for their own profit and for production of weapons. Businesses made sure that they would benefit from government contracts by bribing politicians.

All societies going through rapid change face problems. The world may seem very unstable, and people may not know what to believe or who is right. Who should they trust when "old-fashioned values" no longer seem to be effective? Faced with all of this apparent chaos, many Japanese worried that their special "Japanese spirit" would disappear under the influence of Western ideas and fashions. (Some of these tensions are the subjects of Lesson 4.) Many Japanese believed that the most important value in Japan should be unity and willingness to sacrifice for their country in order to face foreign enemies. It is no surprise that they turned to the emperor as their nation's symbolic leader and to the military as their ideal of discipline and self-sacrifice. But the new emperor, Hirohito, who was enthroned in 1926, had little real power, and the leaders of Japan's military did not necessarily have the people's best interests in mind.

Domestic Political and Social Trends: Dissension and Response

By the 1920s, the Meiji politicians had all died, and their political heirs tried to give the impression of single-minded devotion to emperor and country in a climate of political party divisions and factional rivalry. Originally based on a German ideal of direct service to the emperor, Japan's government now resembled a British style of rule by one of two centralized parties. Run by a tiny elite of pro-business, mostly pro-Western politicians, these parties used both policy and corruption to promote their own leadership. They did liberalize some aspects of society, allowing labor unions, giving all Japanese males the right to vote, and joining the League of Nations to participate in the international community. As a "great power"—the only one not ruled by Euro-Americans—Japan participated in naval limitation conferences, maintained its colonies in the same way Britain, France, and the United States did, and forced China to expand Japan's treaty rights. Despite continued discrimination against the Japanese by Europeans and Americans—who still affirmed that Japanese were not "white" people, despite their successes—Japan became a member of the "imperial club." But Japanese internationalism, personified in Shidehara Kijuro, Japan's Foreign Minister in the early 1920s, also posed a challenge to Japanese nationalists who saw the politics of international diplomacy, parliamentary democracy, and compromise as weakness, in contrast to the military's desire for further conquest.

Under the surface, economic inequality threatened the unity of the Japanese people even more in the 1920s than it had 60 years before, for industrialization had created the same tensions between worker and employer as it had in Euro-American societies. Conflicts over wages and working conditions led to the development of labor unions and strikes, actions which seemed like treason to people committed to the almost religious unity of the kokutai. To combat this disorder, Japanese government as early as 1900 had made strict laws to punish anyone who promoted social conflict. Even in the relatively liberal 1920s, those laws were strengthened to give the government greater power over the press, virtually eliminating the public's rights of speech and assembly—rights which had never been strongly proclaimed in Japan's constitution or in its legal code.

Japanese companies, especially the very large ones, learned from the government and took measures to prevent expression of worker discontent. Skilled laborers were hired for life and encouraged to link their own destiny with that of their company. Local company-based unions negotiated limited benefits for their members, while both law and custom prevented the formation of effective national unions. Government regulation did not hamper the growth of huge manufacturing monopolies; rather, the Japanese government encouraged a dual economy of a few giant companies supplied by thousands of small "mom-and-pop" operations. In periods of economic growth, these strategies proved quite effective. But tougher methods were necessary in bad times, which arrived with the Depression in 1929.

The Japanese economy was badly damaged by the Great Crash because so much of its wealth came from foreign trade, which dropped drastically after 1929. As the American and European economies staggered, their cash supplies low and millions of their people unemployed, they could no longer afford to buy foreign goods. During this period, the Japanese lost 50 percent of their overseas sales, domestic prices dropped, and Japanese incomes fell about 30 percent on average. Ordinarily, such difficulties might produce public support for anti-government groups like the socialists and communists, whose demands included support for the poor and unemployed. But Japan's government had discouraged even the mildest dissent, so many citizens turned instead to right-wing organizations, both civilian and military, to express their dissatisfaction with politics as practiced by the ruling parties.

These right-wing, ultranationalist groups claimed a special purity for their own ideas—the centrality of the emperor and opposition to international diplomacy which, they said, kept Japan weak. They encouraged citizens to support and love the Japanese military abroad, and they praised the virtues of self-sacrifice and nationalism. They also used Shinto, part of Japan's religious tradition, to idealize the Japanese spirit and its military virtues. Through local shrines and priests, who preached Japan's superiority over other peoples and practiced rituals of "uniquely Japanese" purity and love for nature, many Japanese people became convinced of Japan's sacred task to drive the Euro-Americans out of Asia. They also believed that making war was a central part of that mission. The beauty of nature, of cherry blossoms and the sea, came to be equated with heroic death in the emperor's cause.

Young men, both military officers and their colleagues in civilian organizations such as the *Kokuryukai* (Amur River Society), expressed their nationalist passions through assassinations of politicians, industrialists, intellectuals, and others who did not conform to their rigid standards of "Japanese" behavior and beliefs. Prime Minister Hamaguchi was murdered at Tokyo Station in 1930; Prime Minister Inukai was assassinated in 1932. Both assassinations were perpetrated by ultranationalists impatient with the corruption of party politics and eager for Japan to be dominated by their own heroic values, which were expressed most obviously in the military.

The Military Mobilizes

The military, meanwhile, had conflicts and troubles of its own. The army and navy fought one another over budgets, weapons systems, political influence in Tokyo, and Japan's international policies. The navy, more concerned with technology than the army, had been limited in construction of large warships by the Washington (1922) and London (1930) Naval Treaties; still, it had managed to build a strong fleet including aircraft carriers and submarines, a navy larger than the fleets that Britain, America, or Russia could bring to the Pacific against them. The presence of a large U.S. fleet in the Pacific made the United States the main target of Japanese naval planning, and its main anxiety lay in securing the supplies of oil needed to run navy ships. That oil lay in Southeast Asia, mostly in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia and Brunei), at the end of a long southward sea route that the Japanese navy had to protect.

The army, on the other hand, found itself bogged down occupying Taiwan, Korea (taken as a colony in 1910), and especially Manchuria, where the army protected Japanese mines, factories, railroads, and communities. Eager to demonstrate their power, unwilling to wait for diplomacy, and convinced that their allies in Tokyo would back them, Japanese army officers planned an incident which would force the Japanese government to seize Manchuria. Despite advance warning of this plot, the High Command in Tokyo was unwilling to take action against its own men until it was too late. On September 18, 1931, a bomb blast on a Japanese railroad triggered a well-prepared attack in which all of northeast China was seized from Chinese control; by spring, large parts of Mongolia also lay in Japanese hands.

In the face of this direct disobedience of orders, Tokyo could do nothing except to take over this huge new territory won by the army. The Japanese government declared northeast China, usually called Manchuria in English, to be an independent country called Manchukuo (*Manshūkoku* in Japanese), under a Chinese emperor. But the real governor of Manchukuo was the commander-in-chief of the Japanese forces who were stationed there in overwhelming numbers. The international community reacted angrily to the "Manchurian Incident," and after lengthy investigation the League of Nations condemned Japanese aggression. The Japanese delegation walked out, never to return. U.S. influence in this matter was very limited, since the United States had never joined the League of Nations in the first place, but American public opinion ran strongly in China's favor and against Japan.

From 1932 to 1936 domestic political conflict escalated in Japan, as war in China required more and more troops and money to control the rising armed power of Chinese nationalism. The civilian government had to bow to the demands of the military, for no government could be formed or sustained without military participation. Admiration of the military, and faith in its spirit, led many Japanese to ultranationalism, the belief that Japan was inherently superior to other nations, that the Japanese military could never be defeated, and that Japanese culture and morality were uniquely pure and true.

But some Japanese people did not fall into the ultranationalist camp. Resistance came from civilian politicians fearful for their own power, intellectuals unwilling to accept the simple-minded ideals of kokutai and military virtue, socialists, Christians, and others committed to self-determination of peoples or the unity of humankind. The voters continued to choose the conservative and moderate civilian political parties. In a February 1936 national parliamentary election, one of the mainstream parties won a majority with slogans such as, "What shall it be, parliamentary government or fascism?" Even the small socialist party made modest gains at the polls during the 1930s, in the face of a high tide of ultranationalist propaganda.

But only a week after those elections, on February 26, 1936, the Army First Division, stationed in downtown Tokyo, attacked the heart of the civilian government. After assassinating a number of high officials, they held several blocks of the city for three days. Though still supporting their junior officers, the High Command finally called in reinforcements—many of them, not surprisingly, from the navy rather than the army—and forced the rebels to surrender. The leaders were executed, generals who had been involved in the plot were fired, but the army remained deeply involved in politics.

Though the civilian ultranationalists lost influence after the "Young Officers' Coup," politicians eager to demonstrate their patriotism put intense pressure on all dissidents, including not only communists and socialists but also liberal intellectuals. Party politics revived briefly in the late 1930s, but the military and the professional bureaucrats in Tokyo combined to make the Diet's job impossible. The chaotic operations of representative government reinforced the view that politics consisted only of conflict and mean-spirited self-interest, not of high-minded patriotism or loyalty to the emperor.

The War in the Pacific

In China, events conspired against moderate forces in Japan. In December 1936, Chiang Kai-shek's own generals kidnapped him and forced him into an all-China alliance against Japan. The combined forces of the Chinese Nationalist Party and Chinese Communist Party posed a direct threat to Japanese military power in China, and the Japanese army could not allow that. On July 7, 1937, a local clash between Chinese and Japanese troops near Beijing gave them their chance. Their mainland strategy required them to protect Japanese economic interests and defend against the Soviet Union, so the army chose full-scale war rather than an endless battle against Chinese nationalism. Though unprepared for war—the army had just drawn up a five-year plan to produce sufficient supplies of arms and material—Japan's generals decided to attack China before it could become a strong, unified nation. Many Japanese hoped that the war would establish a new order in Asia, one based on all Asian peoples' common identity and common opposition to European colonialism and expansion. A Japanese-sponsored "government of China" was set up, but everyone knew it was Tokyo's puppet. Patriotic Chinese followed their political leaders westward—Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party and Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party both set up governments [illegible] remote areas and tried to fight Japan.

Having signed an anti-communist alliance with Hitler's Germany in 1936, Japanese diplomats saw their best advantage in squeezing the Soviet Union, still the main enemy in most policy planners' eyes, between their two powerful military forces. The Axis Alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan had been designed to prevent British, American, or Soviet meddling in East and Southeast Asia, which Japan claimed as its sphere of influence. Both the diplomatic corps and the military saw the Soviet Union as Japan's main enemy, so Japan's army engaged the Red Army along Manchuria's northern border in 1939 and took a terrible beating. Never had the Japanese faced an enemy who possessed modern armor and artillery, nor an opponent as skillful as the Soviet Union's General Zhukov. After this defeat, Japan turned its interest to the south, toward the rich oil fields of the Dutch East Indies, its rubber plantations, and toward the strategic sea routes from Japan to all its overseas resources. By the summer of 1941, with the Soviet Union hard-pressed by German invasion and Britain utterly incapable of overseas intervention, only one enemy remained to prevent Japan from ruling all of the western Pacific: the United States.

Why did Japan abandon its diplomatic relationship with the United States, which had worked fairly well, to begin a war that many Japanese knew would be disastrous? American policy makers perceived U.S. national interests to be threatened by Japanese control over China and had begun to use American economic power to force Japan off the mainland. After 1939, President Roosevelt refused to allow Japan to purchase U.S. scrap iron; in early 1941, he cut off exports of oil. Without U.S. oil, Japan could not operate its fleet or move its armored vehicles, and the only alternative supply lay in the Dutch East Indies. If Japan attacked the Dutch, the U.S. would surely go to war against it, but how else could Japan ensure its supply of this vital resource? Japan found itself in an impossible situation: Economic interests as well as nationalism prevented Japan from withdrawing from China, as the U.S. demanded. But if the Japanese continued in China, they could not obtain oil without risking war with the United States. At this point, naval planners in Tokyo asked their finest admiral, the U.S.-trained Admiral Yamamoto, to draw up a strategy for destroying U.S. power in the Pacific. Yamamoto tried to persuade his superiors that attacking the United States would be a disaster for Japan, and that Japan could never match the U.S. industrial might that he had observed first-hand. But they disagreed, and as a good soldier and a patriot, he went ahead with his job.

The United States had military forces in the Philippines, but its Pacific Fleet was centered in Hawaii, at the naval base at Pearl Harbor. Yamamoto made a careful study of the harbor and its defenses and decided that it could be destroyed from the air, if the attack could be a complete surprise. Japan had the right weapons—Japanese aircraft carriers were the most advanced in the world at that time, and its fighter planes were superior to those of the United States. After a year of diplomatic wrestling, Japan's leaders decided that they had no choice; they could not survive a continued blockade of oil, so they had to attack southward and take the oil fields from the Dutch. But first, they had to eliminate the U.S. threat. So on December 7, 1941, Japanese planes attacked Pearl Harbor and destroyed much of the U.S. battle fleet anchored there. Unfortunately for Yamamoto, and for Japan, the U.S. aircraft carriers that should have been in harbor were on maneuvers at sea that day and escaped damage.

For the next six months, Japanese ships and troops overran much of the western Pacific, from the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska all the way to the British military base at Singapore. No one could defeat the Japanese, and the first half of 1942 marked the high tide of their empire. But at the Battle of Midway in June 1942, U.S. planes bombed and sank four Japanese aircraft carriers, the heart of their success at sea, and began the long and bloody process of pushing the Japanese military back toward Japan. For almost three years after Midway, the Americans and their Australian, New Zealand, British, and Dutch allies gradually drove the Japanese out of island after island, fortress after fortress, against desperate resistance. Moving north from the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, and west from Hawaii, relying on their overwhelming industrial advantage to produce more ships and guns and material than the Japanese could, the Allies whittled away at the huge Japanese empire, with its over-extended supply lines. As Allied forces won important battles at Guadalcanal, Saipan, and many other Pacific islands, American submarines and long-distance bombers sank hundreds of Japanese freighters that were steaming between the home islands and their distant resource bases. Deprived of the natural resources of the empire, Japan's military production fell even further behind the Americans, and the home islands came under attack from long-range bombers, a disaster that the Japanese military had promised could never occur.

Finally, when the Americans attacked the Philippines, Taiwan, and Okinawa, coming closer and closer to an invasion of Japan itself, the Japanese military turned in desperation to its young men for acts of supreme heroism and devotion, asking them to crash their poorly armed aircraft directly into enemy ships and save the empire by heroic suicide. These *kamikaze* attacks did sink some ships, but they did not end the Allied advance. Unwilling to risk the chance that the Allies would remove the emperor from his sacred position, the Japanese government decided to fight on, despite insurmountable odds. They drilled militia and armed the Japanese people, already hungry and suffering under enemy bombing, to fight against the coming invasion. In the spring of 1945, American bombers set the great city of Tokyo on fire, killing over 100,000 people in a single night. Some scholars believe that, after such dreadful experiences, the Japanese would have surrendered in the face of an American invasion; others claim that they would have fought to the bitter end at a cost of millions of lives. As the Americans planned their invasion for the fall of 1945, they (and their British and Soviet allies) demanded that Japan surrender unconditionally, an ultimatum which the Japanese government rejected. Then, President Truman, with Churchill's and Stalin's consent, ordered the use of the newly developed atomic bomb against Japan's industrial cities. On August 6, Hiroshima was destroyed by a single bomb, followed by Nagasaki three days later. Though some ministers and military officers wanted to continue to fight, even against nuclear weapons, the emperor and a majority of his advisors decided to accept the terms that the Allies offered. On August 15, the Japanese people heard the emperor's voice for the first time on the radio, announcing that they must accept the unacceptable. World War II and the Japanese Empire ended on the same day. All of Japan's territory outside the home islands returned to its "original" countries—to the Soviet Union, Korea, China, the Philippines, Holland, Britain, and others. Its factories in ruins, its economy in shambles, its people demoralized, and its government in disarray, Japan had to submit to foreign occupation and to sweeping reforms of its politics, education, and society, all dictated by the victorious United States and its allies. Thus began a revolutionary new chapter in Japanese history on the ashes of failed imperialism.

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Why Empire? Why War?

Introduction: During the latter half of the 19th century, under what its leaders perceived to be a constant threat from Britain, Russia, France, and the United States, Japan rapidly developed both its industrial and its military power. By the turn of the 20th century, Japan had become the only Asian nation able to challenge the European and American powers on their own terms. In this process, the Japanese leaders had to decide whether Japan's best interests lay in simply defending the home islands against foreigners or in expanding its territory, and acquiring an empire by military might as its European and American competitors had already done.

When Japan defeated once-mighty China in a short, decisive war (1894-95), the victorious Japanese demanded and were ceded their first colony—the populous and agriculturally rich Chinese island of Taiwan. In 1905, with victory over Russia, Japan gained control of Korea and northeastern China, both of which later became colonial territories as well. Over the course of the next 35 years, Japan's ambitions came to include all of the western Pacific, the entire east coast of the mainland, and Southeast Asia, especially the oil-rich Dutch East Indies and the British base at Singapore.

In this lesson, students explore a variety of Japanese arguments for and against a policy of territorial expansion and war during the first half of the 20th century. They examine speeches, radio addresses, letters, graphics, and other sources to discover a variety of perspectives from within Japan itself. What sort of policy did Japan's security interests dictate? How might economic interests have influenced policy? Why did Japan's leaders perceive the Western powers to be a threat? Students argue both for and against Japan's expansion into mainland Asia and the Pacific, from various Japanese points of view.

Note: Many of Japan's most famous artists and writers are known by their given names rather than family names. This is the case with Shimazaki Tōson, a poet-novelist profiled in Handout 1D of this lesson. He is known as Tōson.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Locate Japan and other Asian nations on a map.

2. Identify the non-Asian powers claiming territory or spheres of influence in Asia during the first half of the 20th century.

3. Assess the political and military threats and challenges to Japan's security and power in the first half of the 20th century.

4. Understand the circumstances and arguments behind Japan's quest for an empire.

5. Use source materials to argue the advantages and disadvantages of Japan's desire to pursue an empire and go to war.

6. Recognize the complexities of the Japanese arguments for and against empire building.

Time required: 2 class periods plus homework

Materials: Handouts 1A through 1L; Slide 1A; overhead projector; slide projector

Procedure:

1. Begin this lesson with a map activity. Project on a screen or blank wall an overhead transparency of the map provided as Handout 1A. Explain that the map is not detailed but is intended to show the extent of Western imperialism in the Pacific region at the end of the 19th century. Distribute copies of the map to students.

Help students read the map by asking them to identify European and U.S. movement into the Pacific region during the last half of the 19th century. What European powers controlled China at the time? The East Indies? Indochina? What were some of the islands controlled by the United States?

Ask students to describe Japan's location in relation to the islands and countries controlled by non-Asian countries.

Ask students to study the map for homework. Using their textbooks as a guide, they should come to class the following day ready to identify the non-Asian powers that occupied or controlled parts of East and Southeast Asia and Japan's specific and relative location within the European/U.S. colonies and spheres of influence.

2. With the transparency map again projected on the screen or wall, review the homework assignment with students, pointing out non-Asian presence in the region. Explain that although the map represents the situation during the last decade of the 19th century, the spheres of European and U.S. influence continued well into the 20th century.

3. Ask a volunteer how she or he thinks the Japanese government might have perceived the geopolitical situation in Asia at the end of the 1800s. *Answers might include constant fear of being overtaken, a desire to protect national independence, anger, an ambition to expand in order to compete with other nations, and so on.*

4. Discuss briefly with the students the thinking behind each of the above reactions, and others, if other possibilities were suggested. For the purposes of this lesson, focus student attention on expansion. Given Japan's size, location, and proximity to areas occupied by non-Asian powers in the Pacific region, what arguments might a Japanese offer for

Japan's expansion within Asia? What might be counter-arguments **within Japan** for such a plan?

5. Distribute the retrieval chart, Handout 1B, as well as Handouts 1C through 1L. These materials constitute a data packet on Japanese expansion from the 1890s to 1940s. Working alone or in pairs, students should read the data packets. From the material contained in the data packets (including Handout 1A, the map), all students should list arguments for or against expansion. Have students continue their individual research for homework. Teachers should prepare themselves by studying the Handout 1B Answer Key on page 35.

6. Divide students into two or four groups, depending on class size. Assign half the class to groups that will defend Japan's need for and right to pursue an empire in the early 20th century, despite the possible consequences of war. Assign half the class to groups that will present arguments against such a course of action.

With their homework findings, students should meet in their groups. Each group should prepare a case defending its assigned point of view. In each instance, students should be prepared to identify the time period and the groups or individuals in Japan with whom they agree and disagree. Alert students not to expect the arguments to be balanced or equal in number. Not all arguments will have counter-arguments.

7. Moderate a classwide discussion, using the Handout 1B Answer Key provided on page 35 as a guide. Ask a student from each group to identify the group's first argument, when it was made, and by whom. Then ask for a counter-argument from the other side; continue with that side and then go back to the first group. Again, not all arguments will have counter-arguments. Students will run out of arguments against expansion and war early on, but students may offer common-sense rebuttals. As arguments are presented, have a student volunteer record the list on an overhead transparency, the board, or easel paper.

8. Summarize the discussion, leaving fifteen minutes for the following evaluation activity:

On the screen or wall, project Slide 1A, *In the Battle of the Sha River*, by Yoshikuni. Explain that the name Yoshikuni appears on numerous Russo-Japanese War prints, but nothing is known of the artist. This slide depicts a 1904 battle during the Russo-Japanese War, when the Japanese forces drove the Russians back to the Sha River.

Using the slide as the basis of an assessment activity, ask students to explain how this image might be used to argue both **for** continued expansion and war and **against** continued expansion and war. *Opinions on the print will vary. Some students may argue that the Japanese army looks obviously strong, overrunning a Russian gun emplacement; also that the army is up to the Western challenge—observe the numbers, clothing, weapons. Others may suggest that there is a look of doubt in the Japanese soldiers' eyes; they might point out the deaths that have already occurred.*

Allow students five minutes to express their thoughts on paper. Collect the papers and use the remainder of class time to discuss the complexity of the debate over Japanese expansion during the Imperial period. The timeline on page 19 of the Introductory Essay may be reproduced and distributed to the class.

9. The following activities may be used as methods of assessment.

a. Ask students to make a list of arguments both for and against Japan's expansion and war as a quick memory quiz.

b. Direct students to select the strongest arguments from each side and to write a well-constructed paragraph supporting each.

c. To expand the assessment component, have students conduct independent research to gather additional evidence to support each of the arguments.

Supplementary Activities:

1. Supplement the lesson by asking students to investigate further the lives of the individuals quoted or noted in the data packet selections.

2. Students may be interested in comparing the possession or control of Asian and Pacific lands surrounding Japan during World War II, immediately after the war, and today.

3. Another Japanese anti-war poet is Kurihara Sadako. Students may want to read her poems that were written—and censored by both the Japanese and Americans—during the Pacific War and the Occupation, respectively. *Black Eggs: Poems by Kurihara Sadako* (1994), translated with an introduction and notes by Richard H. Minear, is available from the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

4. Students may want to investigate the debate within Japan over Japan's role in the Persian Gulf War. What arguments similar to those raised in this lesson were voiced in the recent debate? What post-World War II events resulted in new arguments?

Resources:

John W. Dower, *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays*. New York: New Press, 1993.

John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

Saburō Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1978.

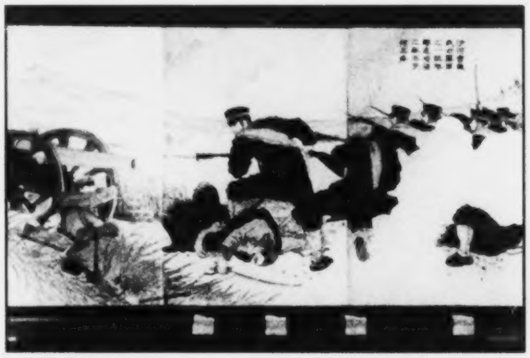
Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific*. White Plains, New York: Longman, 1987.

Richard Minear, *Through Japanese Eyes*. New York: The Apex Press, 1994.

Saburō Shiroyama, *War Criminal: The Life and Death of Hirota Koki*. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1974.

Slide for Lesson 1

Slide 1A: "In the Battle of the Sha River," by Yoshikuni. Woodblock print, 1904.



From the collection of Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.

Answer Key for Lesson 1

Handout 1B:

Arguments for Expansion and War

Individual or Group	Date	Reasons Supporting Argument
(A) Map	1870s-1940s	To drive Western powers from the area.
(C) Fukuzawa Yukichi, educator	1876-1885	Fear of what Europeans do to the lands that they occupy; distrust of Europeans' racist attitudes; when others treat one stupidly, as Westerners had done in the area, one can only do the same back to them; Japan should treat China and Korea in the same way that the Western powers did.
(D) Father (voice of poet Tōson)	1890s	Son should go to war because he is descendent of samurai soldiers; his ancestors would expect it, and the code of social honor demands it.
(D) Mother (voice of poet Tōson)	1890s	There are rules to live by, and one of them is that sons must go to battle during times of war.
(E) Nogi Harumichi, student	1930s	Japan should use Japanese technology and leadership to make China a better country; Japan and Germany should combine forces to break Anglo-Saxon hold on Asia and redistribute colonies.
(F) Konoe Fumimaro, Prime Minister	1938	Japan should establish a new world order to ensure the stability of East Asia; to guard against communism.
(H) Arita Hachiro, Foreign Minister	1940	Japan should unite the countries of East Asia and the regions of the South Seas which are geographically, historically, racially, and economically closely related to one another; to preserve their ways of life.
(I) Hoshino Naoki, director of planning board	1940	The need for resources: it is impossible to meet military and civilian petroleum needs, it will be necessary to work out a way of obtaining oil from northern Sakhalin (Soviet-owned), the Netherlands East Indies, and other places.
(J) Tōjō Hideki, Prime Minister	1941	The Japanese Empire has never, and must never, know defeat; expansion for the glory of the Japanese Emperor and Empire.
(K) Ikeda Enji	1942	To expel the ABCD (American, British, Chinese, and Dutch) powers from the region.
(L) *Osaka Puck*, magazine	1942	To liberate the inferior races of the Pacific region (note color of skin and dress of Indonesian).

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Handout 1B (continued):

Arguments Against Expansion and War

Individual or Group	Date	Reasons Supporting Argument
(A) Map	1890s-1940s	Japan is a small island nation surrounded by larger powers.
(D) Son (voice of poet Tōson)	1890s	War is futile; the lofty honor associated with it is but a dream.
(G) Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku	1940	A war between Japan and the United States would be a major calamity for the world and for Japan itself; could not guarantee Japanese victories beyond one and one-half years.
(I) Navy Chief of Staff Fushimi	1940	Japan must obtain oil, stockpiles are insufficient; but Navy very much prefers peaceful means of getting oil.

NOTE: Students may use parts of "Arguments For" to argue against (or "Arguments Against" to argue in favor); for example, "two wrongs don't make a right" might be argued against the ideas expressed by Fukuzawa that stupidity deserves an in-kind response; the seemingly racist attitude of the artist in Handout 1L may be used as a reason *not* to expand.

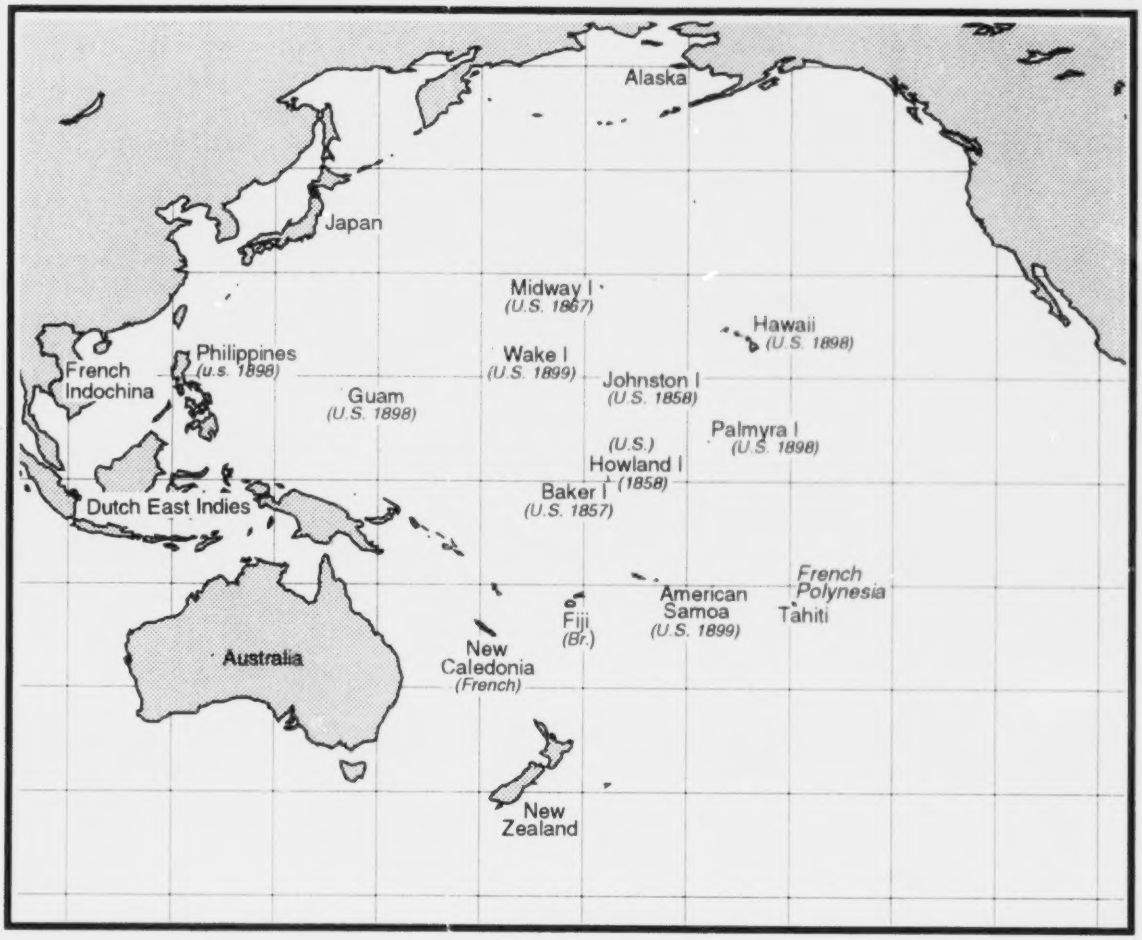
Summary of Possible Arguments For and Against Expansion and War

For	Against
• to eliminate foreign, i.e., Western, encroachment • to retaliate for Western aggression • to copy the West • to continue the samurai tradition • to lead East Asia • to reduce Anglo-Saxon hold on area • to establish a new world order • to ensure the stability of East Asia • to unite countries of East Asia and surrounding seas • for the emperor, for the empire • to obtain vital materials, especially oil • to liberate the "inferior" races of the Pacific • to defend a way of life in East Asia, particularly Japan • to guard against communism	• Japan is a small nation, surrounded by larger powers • war is always futile • lofty honor associated with war is a dream • war would be calamity for the world • Japan would lose • racism is not a justifiable argument for war • gaining empire may mean alienating suppliers of materials • two wrongs don't make a right • Western science and technology are the future—Japan must change

Handout 1A
Page 1 of 1

Asia and the Pacific

This outline map of Asia and the Pacific identifies the lands under the control or influence of the non-Asian imperial powers. Note the location of the areas under the control of European and American governments.


Alaska
Japan
Midway I
(U.S. 1867)
Hawaii
(U.S. 1898)
Philippines
(u.s. 1898)
French
Indochina
Wake I
(U.S. 1899)
Johnston I
(U.S. 1858)
Guam
(U.S. 1898)
Palmyra I
(U.S. 1898)
(U.S.)
Howland I
(1858)
Baker I
(U.S. 1857)
Dutch East Indies
French
Polynesia
Tahiti
American
Samoa
(U.S. 1899)
Fiji
(Br.)
New
Caledonia
(French)
Australia
New
Zealand

Map created by Patrick Grant, University Preparatory Academy, Seattle, WA. Reprinted with permission.

Handout 1B
Page 1 of 1

Arguments For or Against Expansion and War

Individual or Group	Date	Reasons Supporting Argument

Fukuzawa Yukichi on Empire

Note: Fukuzawa Yukichi was an educator and writer who publicized Western knowledge in Japan during the Meiji period. Although he never accepted any government post, by the end of his life he was a national figure respected as one of the founders of the new Japan. Fukuzawa visited the United States in 1860 as part of the first Japanese mission to America, and in 1862 traveled to France, England, Holland, Russia, and Portugal. As a result of his travels, he wrote a book on everyday Western customs and institutions, which established his reputation. Fukuzawa claimed that Japan was weak and backward because the culture lacked science and the spirit of independence. He argued that Japan should become more like the West in order to be secure from any threat of attack or exploitation. In the excerpts below, Fukuzawa explains his ideas on Japanese expansion.

* * *

It is not long since the foreigners came to our country, and up till now they have not had time to harm or disgrace us very much, so that most people are not particularly worried about them. But those who truly have their country's welfare at heart must judge the foreigners by what they have done and are doing in the rest of the world.

To whom did the present America once belong? The Red Indians, who were originally masters of the country, were driven out by the white men, so that the position of host and guest has entirely changed. The civilization of America is thus not really America's at all, but the white man's.

And besides, what about the various Eastern countries and the Pacific Islands? Have the European countries really respected the rights and interests and integrity of the countries with which they have come into contact? What about Persia? And India? And Siam? And Luzon and Hawaii? The Sandwich Islands since their discovery by Captain Cook in 1778 are said to have progressed in civilization much more quickly than the neighboring islands. But their population, which was 3,400,000 when they were discovered, had dropped to 140,000 by 1823—so that in the space of 50 years the population had decreased each year by 8 per cent.

These excerpts of Fukuzawa Yukichi's essays are reprinted from *The Japanese Enlightenment. A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, by Carmen Blacker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964, pp. 129-136. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

. . . What exactly is this thing known as "civilization"? For the people of these islands it meant that they gave up the bad custom of cannibalism, but also that they became slaves of the white man. In the case of an enormous country like China, the white men have not yet been able to penetrate into the interior and have left their mark only on the coast—but it looks very much as though in the future the Chinese Empire will become European territory.

Wherever the Europeans come, the land ceases to be productive, and trees and plants cease to grow. Worse still, the human race sometimes dies out. If people understand these things clearly, and at the same time realize that Japan is an Eastern country, they must inevitably fear for the future, even though up till now Japan has suffered no great harm from foreign intercourse. (1876)

* * *

Western nations call themselves "Christian nations" and make a clear distinction between themselves and everyone else. The word "nations" in their so-called Law of Nations does not refer to all the nations in the world, but only to those that happen to be Christian. The Law of Nations has never been seen to operate in non-Christian countries. It is thus something based entirely on custom and sentiment. There are some Western scholars, certainly, who deplore this and advocate a truly fair and impartial Law of Nations, but in practice it usually works out in the very opposite way. Take, for example, the cruel way in which the British have ruled the Indians for some years past. . . . But if one says that the Indians are treated in this way simply because they are weak, it should follow that the many weak countries in the West would also be treated in the same cruel way. The fact that they are not treated in this way proves that it is not differences in strength but differences in race and kind which are the cause of differences in treatment. Indeed, if it should happen that one of the small countries of their own kind should suffer calamity, someone will always go to their aid. This is what they call the Balance of Power. Some people try to maintain that the Balance of Power is governed by considerations of political advantage, but this is not to be believed. What really underlies it in practice is the sentiment men bear towards people of their own kind. For whatever excesses Westerners may commit in Eastern countries, no one would dream of lifting a finger against them. (1881)

* * *

. . . The point I am trying to make now is that our country is in the greatest danger. Moralists may tell us to sit back and wait for the day when war will cease, but as I see it the Western countries have already greatly developed their military techniques and are likely to develop them even further in the future. Lately they have been inventing new and curious weapons every day, and their armies have been daily increasing in size.

Handout 1C
Page 3 of 3

All this may be useless and stupid, but when others treat one stupidly one can only do the same back to them. When others use violence, we must be violent too. When others use deceitful trickery we must do likewise. And when one is taken up with stupidity, violence, and trickery one has no time to think of right and proper moral behavior. I said before somewhere that nationalism was a temporary expedient—but I confess myself to be a supporter of this expedient. (1881)

* * *

We cannot wait for our neighbor countries to become so civilized that all may combine together to make Asia progress. We must rather break out of formation and behave in the same way as the civilized countries of the West are doing. . . . We would do better to treat China and Korea in the same way as do the Western nations. (1885)

A Poet's Views of War

Note: Poet and novelist Shimazaki Tōson (known by his given name, Tōson) lived from 1872 until 1943. In the 1880s he traveled to Tokyo and was introduced to Christianity and Western literature and ideas. During that same decade, Tōson came to know the Japanese classics and began to develop literary ideas of his own. He established the "new form" verse that had an influence on poetry in modern Japan, allowing Japanese poets to deviate from the classical verse forms. He later turned from poetry to prose. Some of his works dealt with controversial social issues; others were autobiographical. He described all four of Japan's wars that he witnessed during his lifetime. Although Tōson never served in the military, he wrote about the effects of war on Japan. He was among the first Japanese writers after the Meiji Restoration to oppose war through poetry.

These stanzas were written in 1898, after the Sino-Japanese War. The poem is a dialogue among a father, mother, and son. The father speaks first; the son follows.

Along a Path Through Rice Fields

Father:

To this war in China
You will not go, you moan.
I have tried to understand your feelings,
But my doubts are not dispelled.

Now you stand deep in the grasses
Along the Tone River's banks
To carry on this humble calling.
You shoulder the plow and hoe,
Walking over patches of morning starlight
And through the thick evening dew.
But your lineage springs from
A noble current of honored soldiers past.

Reprinted from Steve Rabson, "Shimazaki Tōson on War," in *Monumenta Nipponica 46*(4), Winter 1991. Tokyo: Sophia University.

My father drove a fine horse with his whip
And made bows ring in the wind.
Manly honor brimmed in his heart
Like swelling ocean tides,
And his aspirations stretched
Like moving clouds.
Should he, too, overhear your words,
Even as he dreams beneath
the shadow of grass and leaves,
How bitterly he would shed crimson tears of blood!
Is your heart so fearful of battle
That you would cast down
the high honor of your family
And disregard the rules that people live by?

Son:

You ask, am I afraid?
If even now the cannon should roar
  before my eyes
With thunder that robs the senses,
I would quietly hoe the soil,
Tilling the rice field on the Tone River's banks
That I have come to know so well
  as years have passed.
And even if streaming shells
Should sail past my ear,
I would stroll homeward,
My familiar plow on my shoulder,
Treading unperturbed
Through the shade of mulberry leaves
Singing the song of evening.

Along the Same Narrow Path

Note: In this scene, the young man's mother joins the argument about whether the son should go to war.

Mother:

Why do you spend these long summer days
Lost in thought this way,
Lingering alone in the shade of green leaves?

Do not hate your father,
Unable to contain himself,
Though his iron fist
Will surely leave pain deep in purple bruises.

These scars from quarreling
Seem bound to make you bitter.
But even if the pain rises
Like a summer day's fierce heat,
Take to heart your father's lesson,
Harsh as the autumn frost.
From the books
You've liked to read
Since the time when you were small,
You have come to know life's certain sorrow
And the rules that we must live by.
Who would wish one's own beloved child
  to meet with harm? And yet,
Enduring what is hard to bear,
You must go to distant battle.

And the son responds:

In truth it is not from disregard
For the honor of brave men
That I complain of going
To distant battle.

Alas, since the day I found in my heart
A sadness words cannot express,
I have been lost deep in thought day and night

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And, like an insect gone astray
That flies to the window
And drifts this way and that,
Wandering between heaven and earth,
I can only curse my stupid fate.
From the breast of sadness
I drank of wisdom in many forms,
And have tasted life's bitterness,
Learning from the underside of things
About truth and falsehood among people.
This sadness has shown me strangely
That the lofty honor among brave men
Whose energies adorn this world
Is nothing but a dream;
That those who frolic in the torchlight
On festival night are only shadows;
That the varied ways of this world
Are as figures projected on a magic-lantern
  screen hung over a darkened stage.
And though I should go to distant battle,
This sadness that wells up
From the depths of my heart
Stays with me no matter how hard
I try to break its hold.

I Wanted to Build Greater East Asia

by Nogi Harumichi

Note: Japan at War: An Oral History, *by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, records the memories of ordinary Japanese people during the Pacific War. This selection is from a story titled "I Wanted to Build Greater East Asia," by Nogi Harumichi, who was a student in 1940. Nogi was a member of the Patriotic Students' Alliance at his university; he associated with rightist groups who aimed to free the East Indies from the Dutch.*

The idea of creating an economic zone wherein all the nations of Asia could develop in concert was widespread in Japanese academic and political circles in the late 1930s. Of course, Japan was seen as the natural leader of such a regional realignment. Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke made the first official use of the term "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," in August 1940. The resources of the Dutch East Indies, particularly its petroleum, became increasingly vital to Japanese industrial and military planners as Japan's war in China led to deteriorating economic and political relations with the United States.

* * *

The man who really got me all stirred up about colonialism was Professor Imamura Chūsuke. He was the founder and head of the Department of Colonial Economics at Nihon University, the private college we called Nichidai. He'd say in class, "I've been to Shanghai where signs say 'Dogs and Yellow People—No Entry!' I've been to the South Seas, an area controlled entirely by the white man." He'd ask us, "What are you going to do to knock down this structure?" He had studied in America and was a professor of current events, but he devoted himself to rousing speeches like this. My feelings resonated with him. I burned with a desire to act. "Given an opportunity, I want to go to the front. I want to go to China. I want to do something myself!" That's what we all said.

America and Britain had been colonizing China for many years. Japan came to this late. China was such a backward nation. At the time of the Manchurian Incident in 1931, we felt Japan should go out there and use Japanese technology and leadership to make China a better country. What was actually happening on the battlefield was all secret then, but I felt sure that the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere would be of crucial importance to the backward races. Japan and Germany would only have to combine forces to break the Anglo-Saxon hold on Asia, and redistribute the colonies. That's how we felt then.

From Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: The New Press, 1992, pp. 50-51. Reprinted with permission.

Handout 1E
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Beginning in 1939, Hitler's newsreels were shown every day. When I played hooky, I always went to see them. I'd watch those stirring movies about Hitler and wonder, "What's the matter with the Japanese army in Manchuria? Why can't they just annihilate the British or the Americans? Hitler took all of Poland and united it with Germany!" Then I bought Hitler's heroic autobiography *Mein Kampf*. Japanese youth at that time adored Hitler and Mussolini and yearned for the emergence of a Japanese politician with the same qualities. We wanted decisive action.

Handout 1F
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An Undeclared War

Note: Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945) was one of Japan's most important political figures in the 1930s and '40s. Although a defender of the hereditary aristocracy, Konoe was a highly regarded leader because he respected Japan's representative government and urged his contemporaries to do likewise. He served in the House of Peers and was elected prime minister in 1937, then again in 1940 and 1941. Konoe argued for reducing Western influence in Asia and replacing it with Japanese influence and power, believing it was Japan's destiny to become the leader of the region. He promoted Japan's entry into a military alliance (the Tripartite Pact) with the Axis Powers in Europe in 1940 and then sought Soviet support of the accord. Throughout the Pacific War, Konoe held no public office, but continued to influence the government. After the war, he worked on a revision of Japan's constitution, but the Occupation authorities withdrew support of his revisions and indicted him as a war criminal. He committed suicide in December 1945, the day by which he had been ordered to turn himself in to the authorities.

* * *

By the august virtue of His Majesty, our naval and military forces have captured Canton and the three cities of Wuhan; and all the vital areas of China have thus fallen into our hands. The Kuomintang Government exists no longer except as a mere local regime. However, so long as it persists in its anti-Japanese and pro-Communist policy our country will not lay down its arms—never until that regime is crushed.

What Japan seeks is the establishment of a new order that will insure the permanent stability of East Asia. In this lies the ultimate purpose of our present military campaign.

This new order has for its foundation a tripartite relationship of mutual aid and co-ordination between Japan, Manchukuo, and China in political, economic, cultural, and other fields. Its object is to secure international justice, to perfect the joint defense against Communism, and to create a new culture and realize a close economic cohesion throughout East Asia. This indeed is the way to contribute toward stabilization of East Asia and the progress of the world.

—Statement by the Japanese Government of Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, November 3, 1938

From Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: The New Press, 1992, p. 21. Reprinted with permission.

An Admiral's Thoughts

Note: Yamamoto Isoroku (1884-1943) was a naval admiral and commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet during World War II. He earlier saw duty in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, graduated from the Naval War College in 1916, studied at Harvard University, and served at the Japanese Embassy in Washington, D.C. Yamamoto's experiences in the United States convinced him that Japan and the United States should not go to war. As vice minister of the navy from 1936, he opposed the Tripartite Pact on the grounds that it might invite war between the United States and Japan. Despite his pessimistic views about long-term prospects of war with this country, Yamamoto proposed a surprise attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor. During the six months following the attack, the Japanese navy won victory after victory, until the 1942 invasion of Midway Island (planned by Yamamoto) ended in defeat. He was killed in 1943 when his plane was shot down by American fighter planes. Following his death, he was given the title of fleet admiral. The readings that follow illustrate the views of this American-educated admiral, who was caught between his duty to his country and his belief that Japan could not ultimately defeat the resource-rich United States.

* * *

Letter probably to Navy Minister Yoshida, summer of 1940:

A war between Japan and the United States would be a major calamity for the world, and for Japan it would mean, after several years of war already, acquiring yet another powerful enemy—an extremely perilous matter for the nation. If, after Japan and America had inflicted serious wounds on each other, the Soviet Union or Germany should step in with an eye to world hegemony, what country would be able to check it? If Germany should prove victorious [in the war with Britain] Japan might look to its goodwill as a friendly nation, but if Japan at the time happened to be in a wounded state, its advances would carry no weight; a friendly nation can only look for friendly treatment so long as it has powerful forces of its own. The reason why Japan is respected and its hand frequently sought in alliance is that it has actual power in the shape of its naval and other forces. It is necessary therefore that both Japan and America should seek every means to avoid a direct clash, and Japan should under no circumstances conclude an alliance with Germany.

From *The Reluctant Admiral* by Hiroyuki Agawa, published by Kodansha International, Ltd. Copyright 1979 by Kodansha International, Ltd., pp. 186-187, 232, 235, and 292. Reprinted by permission. All rights reserved.

Letter to Navy Minister Shimada, fall of 1940:

If the situation is going to force us into action, I feel, as officer in command of the fleet, that there will be little prospect of success if we employ the normal type of operations. . . . There are some people, it seems, who have considerable doubts about my own character and abilities as commander. In an extreme emergency such as the nation now faces, one cannot take personal considerations into account, nor have I ever seen myself as fitted for the post of commander in chief of the Combined Fleet. . . . In short, my plan is one conceived in desperation, on account of my own imperfectly developed abilities, from lack of confidence in a perfectly safe, properly ordered frontal attack; if there is some other suitable person to take over, I am ready to withdraw, gladly and without hesitation.

Discussion with Prime Minister Konoe, Sept. 12, 1940:

On September 12, Yamamoto had another, secret meeting in Tokyo with Prime Minister Konoe. The chief topic of discussion seems to have been the plan—destined never to be realized—for a U.S.-Japanese conference in Honolulu, at which Roosevelt and Konoe would get together for direct talks to explore ways out of the impasse in relations between the two countries, and which Yamamoto would attend as a member of Konoe's party. In the course of conversation, Konoe asked Yamamoto the same question as before: "How about the navy in the event of the negotiations coming to nothing?" and Yamamoto, too, replied as before: "If you insist on my going ahead I can promise to give them hell for a year or a year and a half, but can guarantee nothing as to what will happen after that."

"If war comes," he added, "I'm ready to risk my life in battle—I'll fly a plane, go on a submarine, fly to and fro across the Pacific. . . . I hope you'll have the same attitude—don't treat the negotiations lightly, but approach them as though your life depended on the outcome. Even if the talks should break down, don't get defiant, but leave room for further moves. They say, you know, that there's no last word in diplomacy."

Discussion with Sasakawa Ryoichi:[1]

One day in September, three months before the beginning of the war, on a trip to Tokyo from Hashirajima, [Yamamoto] summoned Sasakawa to the Navy Club in Shiba, where he told him that the situation had developed to the point where war was inevitable. "For a while," he said, "we'll have everything our own way, stretching out in every direction like an octopus spreading its tentacles. But it'll last for a year and a half at the most. We've just got to get a peace agreement by then. The right timing would be when Singapore falls. If it does fall, it will unsettle Burma and India. Unrest in India would be the hardest thing for Britain to put up with—to lose it, for Britain, would be like an old man being deprived of his foot warmer. But is there any politician with the sense to see that and act accordingly? I think Singapore can be captured within six months, and when it is, I look to you. . . ."

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[1] Sasakawa Ryoichi was the president of a nationalist organization. Unlike many nationalists, however, Sasakawa respected Yamamoto.

Handout 1H
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Imperial Japan, 1940

Note: Arita Hachiro (1884-1965), a Japanese politician and diplomat, graduated from Tokyo University before working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in several cabinets in the late 1930s and 1940. In his governmental positions, Arita opposed hostilities with the United States, but was a minority in a militarist faction. After World War II, he was elected to the Diet. In a suit against Mishima Yukio, Arita claimed that events in Mishima's novel After the Banquet *too closely resembled his personal and professional life. The suit was settled out of court. In June 1940, Arita Hachiro, Foreign Minister of Japan, delivered the following radio address to the people of Japan.*

* * *

. . . It seems to be a most natural step that peoples who are closely related to each other geographically, racially, culturally, and economically should first form a sphere of their own for coexistence and co-prosperity and establish peace and order within that sphere, and at the same time secure a relationship of common existence and prosperity and other spheres. The cause of strife which mankind has hitherto experienced lies generally in the failure to give due consideration to the necessity of some such natural and constructive world order and to remedy old irrationalities and injustices. . . .

It is in this spirit that Japan is now engaged in the task of establishing a new order in East Asia. It is extremely regrettable, therefore, that there should be those who not only fail to understand Japan's great undertaking based upon this fundamental principle but, on the contrary, obstruct establishment of peace in East Asia by supporting the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. We have urged them to reconsider such an attitude in the past, and now we intend further to urge their serious reflection. We are determined to leave no stone unturned in order to eradicate all activities for assisting Chiang Kai-shek.

Sometimes there are those who would disapprove a change in the *status quo* by force of arms regardless of the reasons therefor. It is for the purpose of bringing about a just and permanent peace that Japan has been fighting in China for the past three years. Her employment of armed forces is an act looking beyond the immediate present. The sword she has drawn is intended to be nothing other than a life-giving sword that destroys evil and makes justice manifest.

Countries of East Asia and regions of the South Seas are geographically, historically,

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Reprinted from *Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan 1931-1941, Vol. II.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 93-94.

racially, and economically very closely related to each other. They are destined to help each other and minister to one another's needs for their common well-being and prosperity, and to promote peace and progress in their regions. Uniting of all these regions under a single sphere on the basis of common existence and insuring thereby the stability of that sphere is, I think, a natural conclusion. The idea to establish first a righteous peace in each of the various regions and then establish collectively a just peace for the whole world has long existed also in Europe and America.

This system presupposes the existence of a stabilizing force in each region, with which as a center the peoples within that region are to secure their coexistence and co-prosperity and as well the stability of their sphere. It also presupposes that these groups will respect [one] another's individual characteristics, political, cultural, and economic, and they will cooperate and fulfill one another's needs for their common good. . . .

Japan, while carrying on vigorously her task of constructing a new order in East Asia, is paying serious attention to developments in the European war and to its repercussions in the various quarters of East Asia, including the South Seas [Southeast Asia] region. I desire to declare that the destiny of these regions in any development therein, and any disposal thereof, is a matter of grave concern to Japan in view of her mission and responsibility as the stabilizing force in East Asia.

Japanese Officials Discuss War

Note: The following excerpts are from a session of an Imperial Conference in September, 1940. Among those present were Prime Minister Konoe, War Minister Tōjō Hideki, Director of the Planning Board Hoshino Naoki, Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke, President of the Privy Council Hara Yoshimichi, and Navy Chief of Staff Prince Fushimi. The subject of the conference was Japan's Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy.

* * *

NAVY CHIEF OF STAFF FUSHIMI: I foresee that as a result of this alliance our trade with Great Britain and the United States will undergo a change; and that if worst [*sic*] comes to worst, it will become increasingly difficult to import vital materials. Moreover, it is quite likely that a Japanese-American war will be a protracted one. What are the prospects for maintaining our national strength in view of the present situation, which finds our national resources depleted because of the China Incident? And what measures are contemplated?

PRIME MINISTER KONOE: We can anticipate that trade relations with Britain and the United States will deteriorate even more. If worst [*sic*] comes to worst, it may become impossible to obtain any imported goods. At the present time our country depends to a large extent on Britain and the United States for her principal war materials. Accordingly, we cannot help but experience considerable difficulties.

We have been aware of this problem, and we have increased our domestic production and added to our stockpiles. Hence, if we tighten controls over consumption by the military, the Government, and the people, and if we limit consumption to the most critical areas, we should be able to meet military needs for an extended period; and in the event of a war with the United States, we should be able to supply the military and thus withstand a rather prolonged war.

DIRECTOR OF THE PLANNING BOARD HOSHINO: Since the domestic production of petroleum is low, oil presents even more difficulties than steel and nonferrous metals. We must meet the needs of the Army and Navy from the stockpiles set aside for them. We will, of course, be in difficulty if the war is prolonged. However, since our stockpiles are fairly large, they should be all right. Aviation gasoline, which has been a major weakness until recently, is now in a rather advantageous position compared to other

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From *Japan's Decision for War: Records of the 1941 Policy Conferences*, edited and translated by Nobutaka Ike. Excerpted with permission of the publisher, Stanford University Press. Copyright 1967 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

petroleum products because we have obtained a considerable amount of it by our two accelerated imports, and by our special imports.[1] Since it is of course impossible to meet Army, Navy, Government, and civilian needs from production within the yen bloc and by drawing on our stockpiles, it will ultimately be necessary to work out a way of obtaining oil from northern Sakhalin, the Netherlands East Indies, and other places.

FUSHIMI: If we ever get into a war with the United States, the Navy will be fighting on the front line. In that event, even though we have stockpiles of war materials and prospects of turning to northern Sakhalin and the Netherlands East Indies for additional supplies, the Navy cannot carry on a protracted war on the basis of its own stockpiles. I would like to know how we will get the additional oil necessary for a long war.

HOSHINO: The oil situation is as I have already explained. If there should be a fairly prolonged war, it will be necessary to get oil from northern Sakhalin and the Netherlands East Indies. Also it will be necessary to get additional supplies from the Soviet Union and Europe through the good offices of Germany. In short, it will be essential to acquire a large amount of oil any way we can. The Netherlands East Indies and northern Sakhalin are the places one thinks of first; once we have made up our minds, we will have to get oil from these places. Actually, we are now buying a considerable amount of oil in the South Seas, China, and other areas. We should also pay a great deal of attention to domestic production. We are producing 400,000 tons of natural oil; the production of synthetic petroleum has progressed considerably in recent years, and it is anticipated that we will be able to produce 300,000 tons next year. Domestic production of oil should reach a substantial figure, if facilities planned and under construction are included. We have to plan for an increase in supplies from abroad and added domestic production on the one hand, and a reduction in domestic consumption on the other.

FUSHIMI: May I interpret this to mean that there is, in general, no assurance that additional oil can be obtained? I will add that we cannot count on supplies from the Soviet Union. In the end, we will need to get oil from the Netherlands East Indies. There are two ways of getting it—by peaceful means, and by the use of force. The Navy very much prefers peaceful means.

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[1] Japanese imports of aviation gasoline were as follows: 440,000 barrels (bbl.) in 1939; 1,447,000 bbl. in 1940; and 1,529,000 bbl. in 1941. These are the figures given by the Nihon Gaiko Gakkai (Japan Foreign Affairs Association) in *Taiheyo Senso Genin Ron (On the Origins of the Pacific War)*, Tokyo, 1953, p. 658.

WAR MINISTER TŌJŌ: The Army, like the Navy, considers oil important. I think this question, in the end, comes down to the matter of the Netherlands East Indies. The matter was decided by the Liaison Conference between the Government and Imperial Headquarters held shortly after the formation of the present Cabinet, when the policy statement "Outline of Policy on the Settlement of the Situation" was adopted.[2] It was agreed that we should settle the China Incident quickly and at the same time cope with the Southern Question, taking advantage of favorable opportunities. As for the Netherlands East Indies, it was decided that we would try to obtain vital materials by diplomatic means, and that we might use force, depending on the circumstances. We are most certainly not moving forward without a policy. The Government has a policy: it desires to obtain materials peacefully from the Netherlands East Indies, but depending on the circumstances, it could use force.

PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL HARA: I am glad to be informed about policy by the Foreign Minister, and to learn from the War Minister that policy with respect to the South has already been decided. At present, the Netherlands East Indies are our only source of [additional] oil. There would be no problem if oil could be obtained peacefully; but what arrangements have been made with Germany and Italy in case we have to use force?

FOREIGN MINISTER MATSUOKA: We have begun discussions. The use of force would provoke a war with Great Britain. Also, we would be making a one-sided demand on Germany and Italy. Furthermore, there is the problem of face on both sides, and the problem of security. Germany might also demand some compensation. So I would like to continue discussions on this matter in the future.

FUSHIMI: The Navy section of Imperial Headquarters agrees with the Government's proposal that we conclude a military alliance with Germany and Italy. However, on this occasion we present the following desiderata: (1) that even though this alliance is concluded, every conceivable measure will be taken to avoid war with the United States; (2) that the southward advance will be attempted as far as possible by peaceful means, and that useless friction with third parties will be avoided; (3) that the guidance and control of speech and the press will be strengthened, that unrestrained discussion of the conclusion of this Pact will not be permitted, and that harmful anti-British and anti-American statements and behavior will be restrained.

Although it is recognized that the Government and the Navy Supreme Command agree on the need to speed up the strengthening of naval power and preparedness, since this matter is of great importance, we would ask the Government on the occasion of this Conference for its full cooperation in this matter.

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[2] Approved in a Liaison Conference on July 27, 1940.

HARA[3]: I give my approval on the ground that action to this end is essential to carry on the China Incident, and in the light of the changing international situation. We will encounter many difficulties in the future. We cannot be optimistic about the possibility of an American embargo. Even though a Japanese-American clash may be unavoidable in the end, I hope that sufficient care will be exercised to make sure that it will not come in the near future, and that there will be no miscalculations. I give my approval on this basis.

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[3] Here the President of the Privy Council appears to be speaking on behalf of the emperor, as was the custom.

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Have Faith in Victory

Notes: Tōjō Hideki (1884-1948) was an army general and prime minister (1941-44) of Japan. He served in China during the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and during the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. In 1938 he returned to the center of power in Tokyo where, as army vice minister, he argued against peace negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek and for the expansion of the war with China. He became army minister in 1940 and argued in favor of the Tripartite Pact and the invasion of French Indochina. As relations with the United States deteriorated, Tōjō opposed rapprochement. He became prime minister less than two months before the bombing of Pearl Harbor (December 1941) and was not removed from the post until July 1944. When he learned of his imminent arrest by the American army after the war ended, Tōjō attempted to kill himself. He was tried as a Class A war criminal and hanged in December 1948.

* * *

I am resolved to dedicate myself, body and soul, to the country, and to set at ease the august mind of our Sovereign. And I believe that every one of you, my fellow countrymen, will not care for your life but gladly share in the honor to make of yourself His Majesty's humble shield.

The key to victory lies in a "faith in victory." For 2600 years since it was founded, our Empire has never known a defeat. This record alone is enough to produce a conviction in our ability to crush any enemy no matter how strong. Let us pledge ourselves that we will never stain our glorious history, but will go forward. . . .

The rise or fall of our Empire and the prosperity or ruin of East Asia literally depend upon the outcome of this war. Truly it is time for the one hundred million of us Japanese to dedicate all we have and sacrifice everything for our country's cause. As long as there remains under the policy of Eight Corners of the World Under One Roof[1] this great spirit of loyalty and patriotism, we have nothing to fear in fighting America and Britain. Victory, I am convinced, is always with the illustrious virtues of our Sovereign. In making known these humble views of mine, I join with all my countrymen in pledging myself to assist in the grand Imperial enterprise.

—Prime Minister Tōjō Hideki
December 8, 1941, in an address in Tokyo carried by radio at 1:00 p.m. local time, about ten hours after the attack on Hawaii began on the other side of the International Date Line.

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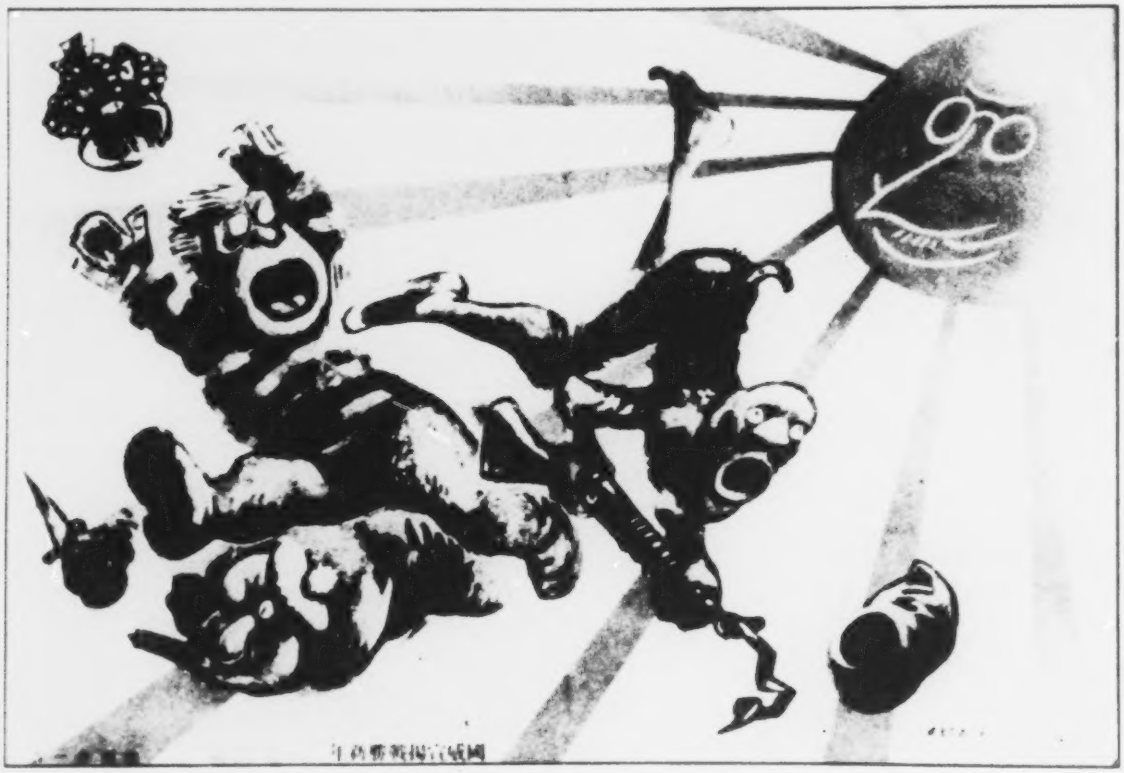
[1] "Eight Corners" refers to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

From Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: The New Press, 1992, p. 69. Reprinted with permission.

Expelling Foreign Powers From Asia

Note: A January 1942 issue of the magazine Manga *included this graphic by Ikeda Enji. A Japanese sun expels the ABCD (American, British, Chinese, Dutch) powers from Asia and the Pacific. America and Britain are thugs, China is an animal with Chiang Kai-shek's face, and the Dutch are represented by a wooden shoe.*



From John Dower, *War Without Mercy*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, p. 192. Reprinted with permission of the author.

Handout 1L
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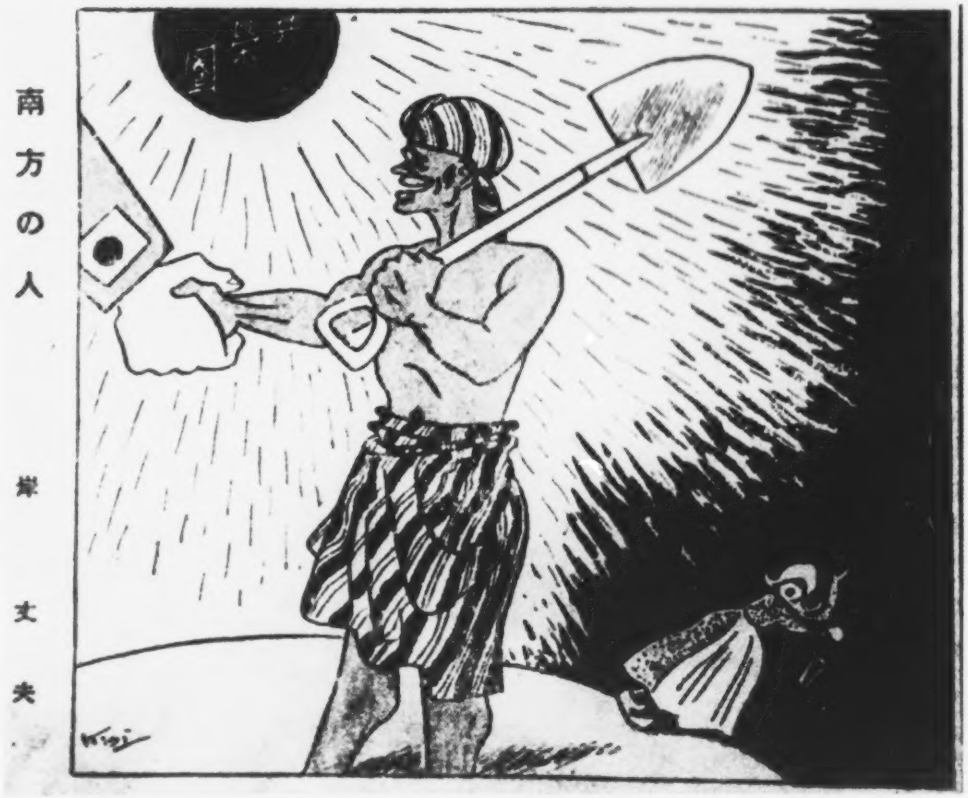
People of the Southern Region

Note: In December 1942, "People of the Southern Region" appeared in the magazine Osaka Puck. *The hand of Japan is shaking that of an Indonesian, while the Japanese sun shines down on them both. The Dutch, in the background, are fleeing into the darkness.*



From John Dower, *War Without Mercy*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, p. 200. Reprinted with permission of the author.

2

Patriotism Reflected in Art and Literature

Introduction: A dictionary defines "patriotism" as love of, and devotion to, one's own country. This emotional attachment by citizens can be crucial to political and economic leaders, who may want citizens to contribute their labor, their wealth, even their lives, for what the leaders define as the country's best interest.

In 19th-century Japan, the Meiji leaders decided to educate the citizens to believe that country and people were the same thing, that every Japanese was part of an organic *kokutai*, or "national body." This lesson explores how patriotism was defined in Japan during its Imperial period (1905-1945) and considers the broader question, "At what point does love of country become extreme, and possibly dangerous?"

Particularly during times of war, there may be a gap between a government's expectations of patriotic behavior from citizens and their actual feelings or behavior. Individuals must make distinctions between healthy and excessive patriotism; between a patriotism which unites a people for the common good and a patriotism which stimulates murderous attacks on others. These emotions and political behaviors vary widely from nation to nation, from time period to time period in a nation's history, from government to government, and from individual to individual. In considering this issue, we should analyze Japan as we analyze other countries and peoples, taking into account the wide variation in response to government demands for sacrifice and violence.

In this lesson, students explore art and literature to recognize the range of Japanese expressions of patriotism during Japan's Imperial period (1905-1945). Students analyze how patriotism played a part in Japan's march toward empire and war through this period. Students reflect upon their own attitudes in the post-Cold War United States and illustrate how they might express patriotism toward their own country today. They also consider the part patriotism plays in a democracy.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Define patriotism and distinguish between that which is healthy and that which is excessive.

2. Explore the role of art and literature in reflecting and inspiring patriotism.

3. Examine and analyze supportive as well as critical expressions of patriotism in Japan in the early 20th century.

4. Draw inferences about characteristics of patriotism in Japan during its Imperial

period, 1905-1945.

5. Measure the above characteristics against their own feelings of patriotism.

Materials: Handouts 2A through 2I; Slide 2A; slide projector; overhead projector. A video clip from the film *The Burmese Harp* may be substituted for Handouts 2G and 2H. This videotape may be available in larger video rental stores.

Time required: 3 class periods

Procedure:

1. Introduce this lesson by writing a dictionary definition of patriotism on the board: love of, or devotion to, one's country. Ask students to consider this definition and to offer their thoughts on what it means to be patriotic. What attitudes and behaviors illustrate patriotism? Are there prescribed ways to think and act? Who decides the characteristics of patriotism? Are definitions of patriotism affected by a country's involvement in or preparation for war? Record student examples of patriotic behaviors and attitudes on the chalkboard.

2. Next, ask students to work from their own knowledge of U.S. history to identify slogans and traditions in this country that reveal patriotic attitudes and behaviors. *Students may mention historical slogans such as "Manifest Destiny;" "Remember the Alamo;" "Remember the Maine;" "Our country right or wrong;" Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country;" and "America—love it or leave it." They may cite behaviors such as saluting the flag, singing the national anthem, and so on.*

3. Using the introductory essay for this unit (pages 17-27) and the timeline (page 19), review events in Japan immediately before and during the Imperial period. This information may be provided through a teacher lecture or through a student reading of the essay.

Ask students if any events listed or described in the essay or on the timeline might have inspired patriotic feelings among Japanese at the time. *Students may note the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, acquisition of territories and colonies in Asia, alliances with major Western powers, gains in international trade, and so on.*

Next ask students if any of the events of the period might have had the opposite effect on the Japanese—that is, if events might have discouraged patriotic feeling or caused individuals to doubt their nation. *Students might mention the same events, but should be able to explain why some people might have seen these as negative.*

4. Remind students that during this period several Western powers had colonies or influence in the region, a fact that many Japanese saw as threatening. Also, the Japanese government had begun to look at Asia and the Pacific to acquire natural resources and expand its territory. Consider the following questions with students.

- What did the government need from people in order to accomplish its goals? *The Japanese government—like any government—needed cooperation from its people in order to accomplish its goals. Until the last few years of the Imperial period, the majority of Japanese were secure and satisfied, and as a result, cooperated with the government. Japan had built up its military and was successful in several wars and in its attempts to secure natural resources—successes that allowed people to feel secure. In addition, Japan's stable social order, in many respects patterned after the family, remained intact throughout the period, enabling the government to gain cooperation from its social units.*

- What attitudes and behavior would have benefited the government's objectives? *Citizens' pride of country, belief in their leaders, willingness to work hard and to sacrifice for the good of others would benefit any government's objectives. The Meiji leaders had unified Japan and established the emperor as the symbol of the nation in the hearts and minds of his people. For the most part, these attitudes remained intact during the Imperial period. In terms of behavior, a tradition of hard work already existed in Japan. Self-sacrifice became increasingly important as the country moved into the late 1930s and early 1940s.*

- What slogans and activities would have been useful? *While slogans such as the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere or activities centered on Japan's flag and anthem might be appropriate responses, the threat from the West might have provoked a different type of patriotic reaction. For example, cartoons and posters advocating Japan's liberation of Asia from Western imperialism were not uncommon (Lesson 1). More common, however, were slogans urging "National Unity," "Loyalty and Patriotism," "Untiring Perseverance," and "Work, Work for the Sake of the Country." As war with China intensified, slogans such as "Extravagance is the Enemy" and "Live by Making Do" became more common.*

- What kinds of citizen behavior might have been deemed inappropriate? *Behavior following the principles advocated above would have been appropriate. Whether behavior was inappropriate depended, at least in part, upon whether Japan was at war. It also depended to some extent on the decade and on local authorities. Japanese citizens were expected to show respect for the emperor and the national anthem, to work hard, and to be composed. Men were expected to behave as if they were soldiers and to willingly give their lives for their country. Actions or words contrary to these expectations might be labeled inappropriate and thus punishable.* Inform students that during this period, loyal Japanese citizens were expected to revere the emperor, obey authority, respect the Imperial Rescripts (which listed citizen's duties to the throne), and work for the sake of the country.

5. Lead a class discussion to encourage students to explore more fully the dimensions and possible limits of patriotism. The following questions may guide discussion.

- Is it possible for a government to ask too much of its people? Do you think this would change depending on whether a country were at peace or war? What government actions would you consider appropriate? Excessive?

- Is it possible for people to be overly patriotic? Would this change depending on whether a country were at peace or war? What individual or group actions would you consider appropriate? Excessive?

- Is it possible to be a patriot and criticize one's government? Is doing so in times of war different from doing so in times of peace? Are there any types of behavior or attitudes that a government would be justifyed in outlawing? Would this vary depending on peace or war conditions?

6. Explain that students are going to spend the next one to two class periods examining Japanese art and literature that may or may not reflect patriotism during Japan's Imperial period. Project on a screen or blank wall Slide 2A, the painting *Eternal Fuji and Red Sun*, by Yokoyama Taikan, an artist who worked during the first part of the 20th century. Read aloud the background information below as students study the painting.

> Yokoyama Taikan, known by his given name Taikan, lived from 1868 to 1958 and created works of art during the period that we are studying. He was a famous painter in a movement to develop a new style of Japanese painting that respected, but was not tied to, past traditions. His early work made it easier for other artists to break with the past. Later in his life, however, he became more conservative, announcing in the late 1930s that art is based upon three principles: nationality, tradition, and nature. Through his work, he inspired pride in Japan by identifying with the Japanese landscape. In 1940, Taikan painted a series of 20 works and donated the proceeds from their sale to Japan's military. Some of his images were turned into posters proclaiming the patriotic cause.

7. Ask students what they see as patriotic about the painting *Eternal Fuji and Red Sun*. What is the patriotic symbolism of the mountain and sun? What is patriotic about the title of this work—that is, what do eternal Fuji and the red sun connote? Have students list adjectives that come to mind when looking at the painting. Continue the discussion of this painting with the following questions.

- What kinds of emotions might the painting elicit in the viewer?

- How does this painting support the image of a Japan as a powerful nation?

- How might this painting have inspired patriotism during wartime?

Student answers will vary, but students might suggest the importance of strength represented by both mountain and sun; red symbolizing blood and patriotism; masculine identity with mountains; longevity of mountain and sun; the fact that Japan is a country with *many volcanic mountains which may have put fear—and corresponding respect—into the hearts and minds of the people. Both symbols might assume sentimental proportions during wartime; but with the reality of early death during wartime, the mountain and sun—which transcend time—may send an additional message of sacrifice for the endurance of the nation. If students are not aware or do not offer the following, emphasize that Mt. Fuji is sacred in Japan, a symbol of Japan's endurance, national beauty, and so on. The red sun is also a symbol of nationhood; Japan is the land of the rising sun.*

8. If the class reaches this step toward the end of a class period, the following activity might be assigned as homework: If students were to design a parallel painting for the United States, either during the early 20th century or today, what two symbols might they use and why? Students may either sketch out such an image or write a short essay explaining their ideas.

9. If the step above has been assigned as homework, spend the first few minutes of the next class with volunteer reports of student work.

10. Having studied one example of patriotic art created in Japan during the Imperial period, students now have an opportunity to work in groups to examine patriotism in other examples of early 20th century Japanese art and literature. Before breaking into small groups, briefly revisit with students the question of whether a person must express patriotism by supporting the government. Is it possible to be motivated by patriotism and criticize the government or national policy? If so, how? If students have trouble thinking of any examples, ask them to consider the Vietnam War.

11. Divide the class into small groups. Distribute to each group Handouts 2A through 2H, which form a data packet, and Handout 2I, a retrieval chart, to guide students' analysis. To clarify the procedure and get students started, the class might work together to fill in the first "voice" on the chart with the message of Yokoyama Taikan, the artist studied at the beginning of this lesson. An answer is provided in the answer key on page 77.

Direct students to complete the assignment as follows. Within each group, students should read all handout material and complete the worksheet using the information appropriate to the readings. Students should create "voices" from each of the handouts by expressing attitudes towards Japan during the Imperial period as reflected in the art and literature they have studied. Alert students that there may be more than one "voice" or position/attitude per handout. Each group should prepare to present findings to the class by taking on the "voices" they have identified. Unless the class is very small, there will be more than one student responsible for each voice.

12. When the class has completed the assignment, review results. Create an overhead transparency of Handout 2I and project it on a screen or blank wall. List the "voices" students found in the readings, using the answer key on page 77 to verify student responses. Encourage students to actually be the voices—to speak for the individuals represented—as they make their reports.

Discuss student findings. Ask students whether they see each voice as representing moderate or extreme patriotism. Have students identify the voices critical and their specific messages. Ask for opinions on whether such critical messages might be inspired by patriotism. Students should be alerted to the fact that by taking excerpts from the materials, we are oversimplifying, but are looking for common themes or threads that can be summarized at the end.

13. With the limited amount of evidence presented, what can students hypothesize about patriotism during Japan's Imperial period? *There will be disagreement, but students should be able to see some of the common threads of love and devotion to Emperor and to country, as well as a sense of duty.*

14. To assess student learning through this lesson, direct students to write essays, poems, or letters, or create cartoons, comics, or works of art that represent their views of patriotism today. In what ways are they personally prepared to show their patriotism? How do their messages compare with the Japanese voices on the chart they created? How might the students' attitudes and messages be different if the United States were at war—then or now?

Supplementary Activities:

1. As an optional activity, show the videotape of the film, *The Burmese Harp*. What do the voices in the film say about patriotism? This videotape is particularly good for showing diversity of viewpoints within the Japanese military. Remind students that both the book and the film are products of the period immediately following World War II and thus reflect hindsight on the experience of empire building and war. What does the film suggest about the changing attitudes toward imperialism, war, and patriotism at the end of the Pacific War?

2. For comparison, students may want to search out patriotic "voices" in the United States during World Wars I and II. They might begin by reading about U.S. government expectations of loyal citizens, usually detailed in U.S. history texts. Students may investigate the experiences of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

3. Students may search for articles in periodicals that illustrate patriotic actions by leftist or rightist groups in present-day Japan. The debate over Article 9 of the Japanese constitution is often in the news and raises many issues related to patriotism.

Additional Resources:

Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: The New Press, 1992.

Richard Kim, *Lost Names: Scenes from a Boyhood in Japanese Occupied Korea.* New York: Universe, 1988.

Kurihara Sadako, *Black Eggs*, translated with an introduction and notes by Richard H. Minear. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, 1994.

Yoshida Mitsuru, *Requiem for Battleship Yamato*, translated by Richard H. Minear. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985.

Slide for Lesson 2

Slide 2A: "Eternal Fuji and Red Sun" by Yokoyama Taikan.

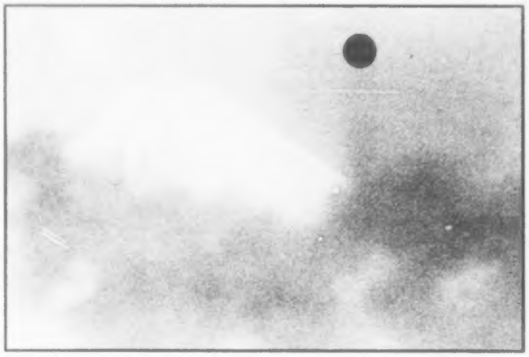


Photo Courtesy of Yokoyama Takashi, Japan Artists' Association, Inc., Tokyo

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Answer Key for Lesson 2

Handout 2I:

View of Patriotism

Voice	Message
Yokoyama Taikan, artist	*Japan is like Fuji and the eternal sun; we must respect her, and contribute to the patriotic cause.*
(2A) Tayama Katai, author	*It is easier to be patriotic when a soldier is in the prime of spirits and health; it is not so easy when one is faced with death.*
(2B) Ōtsuka Kusuoko, poet	*When a woman loses her husband, it is difficult for her to say country is more important than husband.*
(2C) Mishima Yukio, author	*Those who show disrespect for the Grand Shrine of Ise and for things Japanese should be eliminated. One should be prepared to die for Japan.*
(2D) Kamikaze pilots	*A variety of views are reflected in the poems and letters: dying is a means of reciprocating the grace that the emperor bestowed upon pilots; a chance to die like a man is appreciated; there is hope that, in dying, life will serve as a "human document;" dying for Japan—a place where lovely homes, brave women, and beautiful friendships exist—is good.*
(2E) Bride of a kamikaze pilot	*Patriotism is more than practicing the "Spirit of Japan," killing the enemy with bamboo spears; it also means not crying when one's husband dies in battle.*
(2F) Nakaoka Gen of Hiroshima	*It does not take courage to go to war; rather, it takes courage to value life.*
(2G) Captain and others in Burma	*To surrender is cowardly; to die for one's country is patriotic.*
(2H) Variety of soldiers in Burma	*To surrender, and to live and struggle and work for the sake of Japan, is patriotic.*

One Soldier

by Tayama Katai (1908)

Note: Tayama Katai (1872-1930), author of over 400 short stories and novels, is considered a pioneer in modern Japanese fiction because of his concern for strict realism. A student of English and Western literature, Tayama's style is sometimes compared to the Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev and the French novelist Emile Zola. Tayama's experiences as a correspondent in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) influenced his writing of "One Soldier." In his later years, he wrote several historical novels. The passages below have been excerpted from the short story in which a soldier finds himself dying from beriberi, a disease characterized by partial paralysis of the extremities, emaciation, and anemia. The story was sometimes published in Japan with passages omitted. What messages about patriotism do the excerpts convey?

* * *

He started walking again.

The rifle was heavy, the pack was heavy, his legs were heavy. His aluminum canteen clanked noisily against his bayonet. The sound jarred horribly on his strained nerves, and he tried first one, and then another and another way of silencing it; but the clanking went on and on. He gave up.

The sickness had not really gone, and he breathed with difficulty. Shivering fits, spasms of heat and icy cold, passed incessantly through his frame. His head burned like fire, and his temples throbbed. What had made him leave the hospital, he wondered? Why—when the army doctor had asked him to stay—why had he left the hospital? He asked the question, but he felt no regrets over his decision. There had been fifteen of them there, sick and wounded, lying on bare boards in a small room, part of a dilapidated house which the retreating enemy had abandoned. For twenty days he had endured the decay and the dirt, the moaning, the oppressive closeness, and the swarms of frightening flies. For food they had rice-bran porridge with the merest pinch of salt, and he had often known the pangs of hunger. He felt sick even now as he recalled the latrine at the rear of the hospital. The pits were shallow, dug in haste, and the stench struck forcibly at your eyes and nostrils. Flies zoomed around you, dirty and black as coal.

From *Modern Japanese Literature* by Donald Keene, editor. Copyright (c) 1956 by Grove Press. Used with permission of Grove/Atlantic Monthly Press.

Anything was better than that. It was better to be here on this broad open plain. You could not imagine how much better. The plains of Manchuria were vast and deserted, endless fields of tall, ripening cane. But the air was fresh and clean. There was sunshine, there were clouds, there were mountains—he became suddenly aware of a dreadful clamor, and he stopped and turned in its direction. It was the same train that he had seen before, still over there on the track. Hundreds of Chinese coolies swarmed about the long, boilerless, funnel-less monster, pushing frantically, like ants returning home with some gigantic prey.

The rays of the evening sun slanted across the scene, giving it the unreal clarity of a painting.

The noncommissioned officer he had noticed before was still riding on the train. There he was, the one standing aloft on the freight car with the tallest load of rice bales. He shouted to him.

"I'm sick. I can't walk. Can you give me a lift as far as Anshan?"

The fellow was laughing at him. "This train's not for soldiers. I don't know any regulation which says the infantry should ride on trains."

"I'm sick. Can't you see I'm sick? It's beriberi. If I can get to Anshan my unit will be there. I'm certain. Soldiers should help each other, you know. Give me a lift, please!"

He was imploring him, but the fellow would not listen. He only mocked. "Still a private, eh? Time you got yourself some stripes!"

The battles at Chin Chou and Teli-ssu had been won by common soldiers, hadn't they? Blockhead! Brute! . . .

* * *

The face of his mother, his wife, his brother, the faces of women he had known, passed before him in rapid succession as though they were pictures on a revolving paper lantern. The old house in the village, the warm security of his life at home, a fleeting image of himself—so very young he looked—setting out for Tokyo to earn his living. Tokyo. He saw the busy streets at night, the flower-shops, the magazine booths, the rows of newly published books, and—around the corner—the crowded vaudeville theaters and the reception houses: he heard the strumming of samisens,[1] and the forced laughter of the women. Those were good times. The girl he liked best was in a house in Naka-chō, and he had gone there often. She had a round, winsome face, and even now he remembered her with affection. As the eldest son of a prosperous country household he had never known the lack of money, and life had been a series of pleasant experiences. His friends of those days had all gone out into the world now. Only a little while back he had run across one of them, an army captain of the Sixth Division. The fellow had a very high opinion of himself now.

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[1] a three-stringed instrument

Nothing was more cruel, he thought, than the narrow discipline of army life. But today, oddly enough, the thought roused in him none of the usual spirit of rebellion, not even a sense of martyrdom. He was gripped with fear. When he set out for the war he had dedicated himself body and soul to the service of his country and the Emperor. He had made a fine speech on the theme at his old school in the village. "I have no wish to return alive," he had said. He was in the prime of spirits and health, at that time. He had made that speech, but, of course, he had never expected to die. Beneath it all had been nothing but dreams of victory and glory. Now, for the first time, he was experiencing an uneasiness on the score of death. He really felt that it was possible that he might not, after all, return alive, and the thought filled him with terror. There was this sickness, this beriberi—and even if he recovered, the war itself was nothing but a vast prison from which, no matter how he struggled and craved for freedom, there was no escape. He recalled some words which his comrade who had been killed had once used to him.

"There's no way out of this hole. We have to be ready to die, and we have to put a good face on it."

And how on earth could he—a prey to fatigue, sickness, and fear—expect to escape from this dreadful inferno? Desertion? He would try even that if it were any good. The undying disgrace to his name would be bad enough, of course, but on top of that, on the dawn after his recapture, there was still the firing squad. The end was death again. But what were his prospects if he pressed on? He must become a man of the battlefields. A man of the battlefields must be resigned to annihilation. For the first time he marveled at his stupidity in leaving the hospital. It would have been so easy to have had himself invalided to the rear. . . .

It was too late now, he was trapped, there was no road of escape. Negative despair invaded his whole being, pressing upon him with irresistible strength. The will to walk was gone. Tears flowed uncontrollably. If there are any gods in this life, help me, help me! Show me a way out! I shall bear every trial with patience after this! I shall do any amount of fine deeds! If I promise you anything I shall never go back on it!

Ohyakudo-mode
(A Hundred Times to the Shrine)

by Ōtsuka Kusuoko

Note: Ōtsuka Kusuoko (1875-1910), the eldest daughter of a Tokyo judge, graduated at the top of her class from the girls' school attached to Tokyo Women's College. Her husband taught with famed novelist Natsume Sōseki at Tokyo Imperial University. Sōseki became Ōtsuka Kusuoka's mentor, and she his disciple. She died at age 35, a little-known novelist and poet. Ōtsuka's "A Hundred Times to the Shrine" was written in 1906, following the Russo-Japanese War. How might the woman presented in this poem define patriotism? What might be the government's response?

One step think I of my husband, and
Two steps think I of my country, but
Three steps, I think of my husband again.
Is there blame for a woman's heart?
Fragrant in the morning, the sun's own land,
The world's only country.
Called a wife, and betrothed to
The only man in this world.
If I were asked, husband or country,
Which weighs more on me,
Without answering, I simply cry.
A hundred times to the shrine.
Oh! Is there blame?

Translated by Takao Hagiwara, Smith College. Reprinted with permission of the translator.

A Scene from *Runaway Horses*

by Mishima Yukio

Note: Mishima Yukio (1925-1970) was a noted writer of fiction, drama, and essays, recognized in Japan and abroad. Most critics believe that his finest work was the novel Kinkakuji, *translated as* Temple of the Golden Pavilion. *Born in Tokyo, Mishima was educated at Tokyo Imperial University, Japan's finest. For a time he worked in the Ministry of Finance, but resigned to devote himself full time to creative activities. In both his life and work, Mishima stressed the importance of Japanese tradition. He appeared in various movies and was given special permission to affiliate with Japan's Self-Defense Forces. As part of a militaristic group he organized, Mishima forced the group's way onto an army post in Tokyo, where he committed seppuku (ritual suicide). The act gained world-wide attention.*

Mishima wrote Runaway Horses *in 1968, 23 years after the Pacific War ended. In the excerpt of this novel provided below, the author describes an allegedly sacrilegious act committed by a Japanese at Ise Shrine (the holiest of places in Japan), for which he was subsequently assassinated. By sitting on a sakaki branch intended as an offering at the shrine, Kurahara, who was fond of "things Western," crushed the branch—committing a serious faux pas. The incident recalls the earlier assassination in 1889 of Mori Arinori, Japan's Minister of Education, who also allegedly insulted the Ise Shrine by his behavior. This excerpt raises the question, What behavior is expected of a true patriot? Can Isao be considered a patriot in the context of Imperial Japan? Are the assassination and subsequent suicide acts of patriotism?*

* * *

"Kurahara? What about him?"

"Something I saw in yesterday's paper. The *Imperial Way* gave its whole front page to it," Tsumura answered, citing the name of a right-wing newspaper. "It was really disgusting." He pulled a folded-up tabloid newspaper from his jacket pocket and showed it to Isao. Then he peered intently over Isao's shoulder as he read the article, his breath hot, his angry eyes seeming to burn holes through the paper. "It was really disgusting," he repeated.

The newspaper was crudely printed, with broken type evident here and there. The story it carried did not appear in major newspapers but was an article reprinted by permission of a Shinto publication connected with the Grand Shrine of Ise.

From *Runaway Horses* by Mishima Yukio, translated by M. Gallagher. Copyright (c) 1973 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

According to the article, Kurahara had, on December fifteenth, attended a session of the Kansai Bankers Association, and on his return had stopped at Ise, where he had stuffed himself with a dinner of Matsuzaka beef, which he especially favored. And on the following morning, he went together with the Prefectural Governor to offer worship at the Inner Shrine of Ise.

With them were their secretaries and a number of other underlings, but Kurahara and the Governor were accorded special treatment by having two folding chairs set up for them on the gravel pathway. At the sacred branch ceremonial too, two previously prepared sakaki sprigs were handed over to them. Both stood and, holding their sprigs aloft, listened to the ritual prayers. Then suddenly Kurahara, apparently feeling an itch on his back, transferred the sprig to his left hand and tried to scratch the spot, but could not reach it. He took the sprig in his right hand once more and this time reached behind him with his left. Again he failed to reach it.

The ritual prayers continued, still without any hint of coming to an end. Kurahara hesitated a moment, then, hindered as he was by the sakaki branch, decided to lay it down on the chair. Then he put both hands behind his back and scratched. At that moment the prayers finally ended, and two assistant priests indicated that the two men were to offer their sprigs.

Kurahara, forgetting that he had put aside his sprig, joined issue with the Governor in a contest of mutual deferring. Finally, the Governor yielded, and stepped forward to make his offering. At this moment the priests were shocked to see that the sakaki sprig was gone from Kurahara's hand, but it was too late. For Kurahara, relieved that the Governor had preceded him, had sat down for the time being, crushing beneath his buttocks the sprig that lay on his chair. In the midst of the Shinto music accompanying the ritual, this faux pas was quickly passed off without attracting too much attention. Before many people had noticed, Kurahara, furnished with a fresh sprig, was stepping forward to offer worship. But, among the young priests who witnessed this, there was one who could not restrain his indignation. It was he who wrote about it in the Shrine journal, an article that came to the attention of the *Imperial Way*.

Kurahara could not have committed a greater sacrilege. Tsumura's indignation was reasonable enough. Even though it was a simple blunder on Kurahara's part, the night before he was to offer worship he had filled his belly with the flesh of beasts, and, furthermore, rather than begging forgiveness for the breach that he had committed before the gods, he had dared to advance with his second sakaki sprig into the very presence of divinity, and, as men looked on, had committed the still greater sin of glossing over his previous transgressions with a solemnly enacted sacrilege. Still, Isao concluded, this was not reason enough to kill him. But then, turning to look at young Tsumura, he noted the boyish anger in those clear eyes. Somehow Isao felt ashamed. . . .

* * *

Note: Later, Isao decides there is reason to commit the act.

Kurahara stood up with his back to the fireplace. He did not cry out, however. A thin film of ice seemed to have spread across his features.

"Who are you? What are you doing here?" demanded the hoarse, weak voice.

"Take the punishment you deserve for profaning the Grand Shrine of Ise," said Isao. The clarity and modulation of his voice assured him of his self-possession.

"What?" An expression of altogether unfeigned incomprehension came to Kurahara's face. For a moment he was obviously groping for a memory, but without success. And at the same time he was looking at Isao with eyes that revealed the terror of being confronted in dreadful isolation with a madman. Avoiding the fire behind him, Kurahara shrank back against the wall beside the fireplace. This decided Isao's next movement.

As Sawa had once taught him, Isao bent his back like a cat, pressed his right elbow firmly into his side, and, gripping his right wrist with his left hand so that the blade would not go upward, plunged the blade into Kurahara with all his strength.

Rather than the feel of the dagger piercing the other's body, the main sensation was the shock of the butt of the hilt striking his own stomach with reflexive force. Then, determined to make sure of his man, Isao gripped his shoulder and pressed down, wanting to stab more deeply, but he was taken aback to discover how much lower that shoulder was than he had thought. And then the flesh that he was pressing down had none of the softness that goes with plumpness but was as rigid as a board. . . .

* * *

Note: Having fled Kurahara's house, Isao ran along a path through the orchard.

Finally, he came to a place where the cliff was gouged out to form something like a cavern. A greenish, twisted mass of rock had been partly eroded away, and from its top the branches of a great evergreen tree hung low over this ledge. A slender stream of water, sheltered by ferns, meandered over the rock surface, flowed through the grass, and apparently fell off into the sea below.

Here Isao hid himself. He quieted his throbbing pulse. There was nothing to be heard but the sea and the wind. Since his throat was painfully dry, he tore the skin off his tangerine and roughly thrust the fruit into his mouth all at once. He smelled blood. It had splotched the tangerine skin and half-dried there. But the odor did not much alter the sweetness of the juice that was running down his throat. Beyond the dry weeds, beyond the tall pampas grass, beyond the low-hanging evergreen branches, with their clustered needles and entangled vines, lay the night sea. Though there was no moon, the sea reflected the faint glow of the sky, and the waters gleamed black.

Isao sat upright upon the damp earth, his legs folded beneath him. He removed his uniform jacket. From the inside pocket, he took out the knife. His whole being experienced such relief at finding it safe there that he almost lost his balance. Though he still wore his wool shirt and undershirt, the wind from the sea chilled his body as soon as his jacket was off.

"The sun will not rise for some time," Isao said to himself, "and I can't afford to wait. There is no shining disk climbing upward. There is no noble pine to shelter me. Nor is there a sparkling sea."

He stripped off the remainder of his upper garments, but, as his body tensed, the cold seemed to vanish. He unfastened his trousers, exposing his stomach. As he drew his knife out of its sheath, he heard cries and the sound of running footsteps from the direction of the orchard above.

"The ocean. He must have got away in a boat," one pursuer called out shrilly.

Isao drew in a deep breath and shut his eyes as he ran his left hand caressingly over his stomach. Grasping the knife with his right hand, he pressed its point against his body, and guided it to the correct place with the fingertips of his left hand. Then, with a powerful thrust of his arm, he plunged the knife into his stomach. The instant that the blade tore open his flesh, the bright disk of the sun soared up and exploded behind his eyelids.

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Writings of Kamikaze Pilots

Note: In this excerpt from The Nobility of Failure, *author Ivan Morris describes the role and significance of Japan's World War II kamikaze pilots. Letters and poems written by these pilots at the very end of the war reveal some of their thoughts and reflect their high morale. What did patriotism mean to these kamikaze pilots, members of Japan's Special Attack units? What did it mean to their families?*

* * *

The typical kamikaze fighter was a university student whose education had been interrupted when military deferment came to an end and who subsequently joined one of the Special Attack units. It is significant that far more of them had been students of the humanities and law than of engineering, science, and other more "practical" subjects. Very few had any military background whatsoever and, though they threw themselves wholeheartedly into their intensive training, many of them experienced moments of nostalgia for their studies, to which they now had scant chance of ever returning. Thus during his months in training camp, and even when he left on what he believed would be his last flight, Lieutenant Nagatsuka clung to his two thumbworn volumes of George Sand's *Maître Sonneurs*, which served to evoke a gentler past. Owing to their "bookishness" and their relatively free, unmilitary approach, the kamikaze candidates were frequently resented by professional soldiers, especially NCOs[1], who knew that these young, inexperienced ex-students would soon become officers and godlike heroes while they themselves lingered in the ranks.

Though one must obviously avoid generalizing about personality types when thousands of individuals are involved, most material about members of the kamikaze units shows that they were far from being the fierce, superstitious, jingoistic fanatics that foreigners have usually imagined. From all available records, diaries, letters, and photographs it appears that the principal type was quiet, serious, and above average in both culture and sensibility; Japanese descriptions of them frequently include the word *reisei*, which means "serene" or, in the best modern sense, "cool."

Were these kamikaze fighters in fact volunteers, or had they (as most non-Japanese tend to imagine) been somehow dragooned or "brainwashed" into joining the suicide squads?

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[1] non-commissioned officers

From *The Nobility of Failure* by Ivan Morris. Copyright (c) 1975 by Ivan Morris. Reprinted by permission of Henry Holt and Company, Inc.

No simple answer is possible, but there seems little doubt that, at least during the early stage of kamikaze operations in the Philippines and Taiwan, the pilots were all volunteers in the full meaning of the word. Though there must have been many a hesitant young man who succumbed to the psychological pressure exerted by his fellow pilots and by the febrile wartime atmosphere, they were certainly never coerced by recruitment boards or superior officers. On the contrary, it often happened that young men who feared they might *not* be accepted for suicide duties wrote earnest requests and even signed them in their own blood according to ancient tradition.

If only we might fall
Like cherry blossoms in the Spring—
So pure and radiant!

—Haiku by a kamikaze pilot of the Seven Lives Unit, who died in combat in February 1945 at the age of twenty-two

* * *

Words cannot express my gratitude to the loving parents who reared and tended me to manhood that I might in some small manner reciprocate the grace which His Imperial Majesty has bestowed upon us.

—Lieutenant Kaijitsu Susuma, letter to his family

* * *

Dear Parents:

Please congratulate me. I have been given a splendid opportunity to die. This is my last day. The destiny of our homeland hinges on the decisive battle in the seas to the south where I shall fall like a blossom from a radiant cherry tree. . . .

How I appreciate this chance to die like a man! I am grateful from the depths of my heart to the parents who have reared me with their constant prayers and tender love. And I am grateful as well to my squadron leader and superior officers who have looked after me as if I were their own son and given me such careful training.

Thank you, my parents, for the twenty-three years during which you have cared for me and inspired me. I hope that my present deed will in some small way repay what you have done for me. . . .

—Last letter of Matsuo Isao of the Heroes' Special Attack Unit, to his family

* * *

I am a human being and hope to be neither saint nor scoundrel, hero nor fool—just a human being. As one who has spent his life in wistful longing and searching, I die resignedly in the hope that my life will serve as a "human document."

The world in which I lived was too full of discord. As a community of rational human beings it should be better composed. Lacking a single great conductor, everyone lets loose with his own sound, creating dissonance where there should be melody and harmony.

We shall serve the nation gladly in its present painful struggle. We shall plunge into enemy ships cherishing the conviction that Japan has been and will be a place where only lovely homes, brave women, and beautiful friendships are allowed to exist.

—Diary entry of Sublieutenant Okabe, February 1945

* * *

Today in flower,
Tomorrow scattered by the wind—
Such is our blossom life.
How can we think its fragrance lasts forever?

—Kamikaze pilot poem

82

Bride of a Kamikaze

Note: Japan at War: An Oral History, *by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, records the memories of ordinary Japanese people about their experiences during the Pacific War. This selection is from "Bride of a Kamikaze"; it is Araki Shigeko's story of her experiences in and feelings about her homeland as a young bride during wartime. Did she prove herself a patriot? Does she today describe her wartime behavior as patriotic?*

* * *

So many memories came back to me like pictures on a revolving lantern. There are times when I wish the Emperor had reached the decision to surrender earlier. So many civilians also suffered. There was so much damage. We were going to do it with our bamboo spears. When they landed we would attack them. We had those spears at our right hand at all times at the factory. "Each one, stab one, without fail!" they'd tell us. "Yes!" we'd reply in unison.

Our spear was about a meter and a half long, with a sharp point cut diagonally across at the end. We practiced every morning. "Thrust! Thrust! Thrust!" I thought I'd definitely be able to stab them. We had the image of the Americans as being gigantic. We were told, "Americans are large and well built, so go for the throat. Stab here, drive your spear up into the throat. Don't look at the face. Stab without looking." We really believed we could do it. Isn't it scary? We often called this *"Yamato damashī,"* the "Spirit of Japan." We'd put on our headband with the rising sun emblazoned on it. Then we'd bow deeply in the direction of the Imperial Palace. Next, we drilled without bamboo spears. Finally, we'd start our work. But I enjoyed it. It was for Japan; it was to preserve and protect the country. We were sending our loved ones off to die to protect the country. It was the least we could do on the home front. It's amazing isn't it? Beyond comprehension today. At that time we had an unbounded faith in Japan. We felt the Yamato race was unequaled.

Even after forty years my memories will not be extinguished. I get really excited when I talk like this. At that time, I thought it was natural that Haruo would die. It would have been shameful for him to go on living. I was half-waiting for his death. But he had assured me he would come back once more. I thought the next time would be the last time. What should be my frame of mind then? I was contemplating what I would do as the wife of

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Excerpted from Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: The New Press, 1992: pp. 324-325. Reprinted with permission.

Handout 2E
Page 2 of 2

a samurai. How would I welcome him? With what words would I send him off? Then he died on me! Just like that, out of the blue. That's what shocked me. It wasn't that I wanted him to die, please understand. But I was waiting for his "glorious and honorable death." If he didn't die, it would be a disgrace. If a family lost someone in action in those days, we would congratulate them. We'd say, "That's wonderful." We really meant it! At least, that expressed half of what we felt.

When at last I learned he'd died, people said, "That's good; congratulations." I replied, "Yes, it is. It's for the country," and then I returned home to cry alone. I let no one see my tears. We were told that with our eyelids we should suppress our tears. We were told not to cry, but to endure. My father and mother showed no tears in front of others. Nobody expressed their sorrow or sympathy for us. They only said, "It was an honorable death in battle, wasn't it?" and we'd agree.

Handout 2F
Page 1 of 11

Gen of Hiroshima

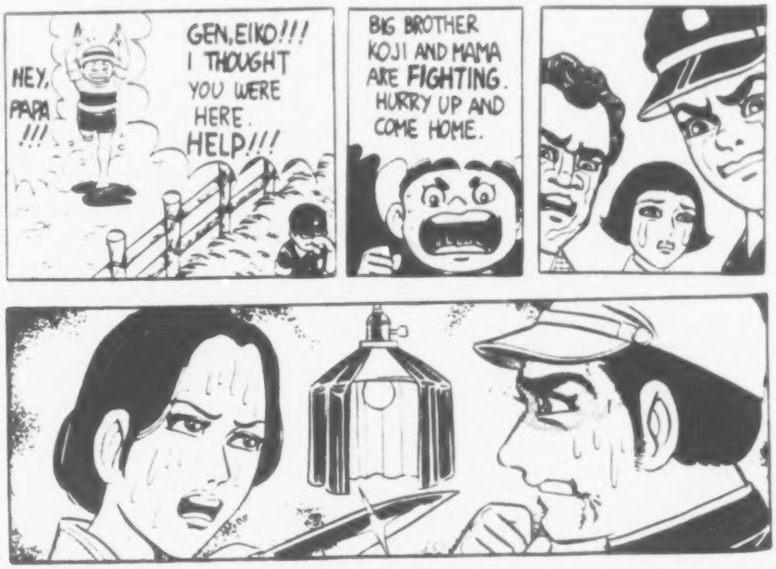
Note: Gen of Hiroshima *is a series of comics about a young boy living in Hiroshima in 1945. His father is not like most of the other fathers in the neighborhood; he believes that the rich started the war in order to get richer. How would Gen's father define patriotism? How would Gen's older brother define patriotism?*

The story so far:

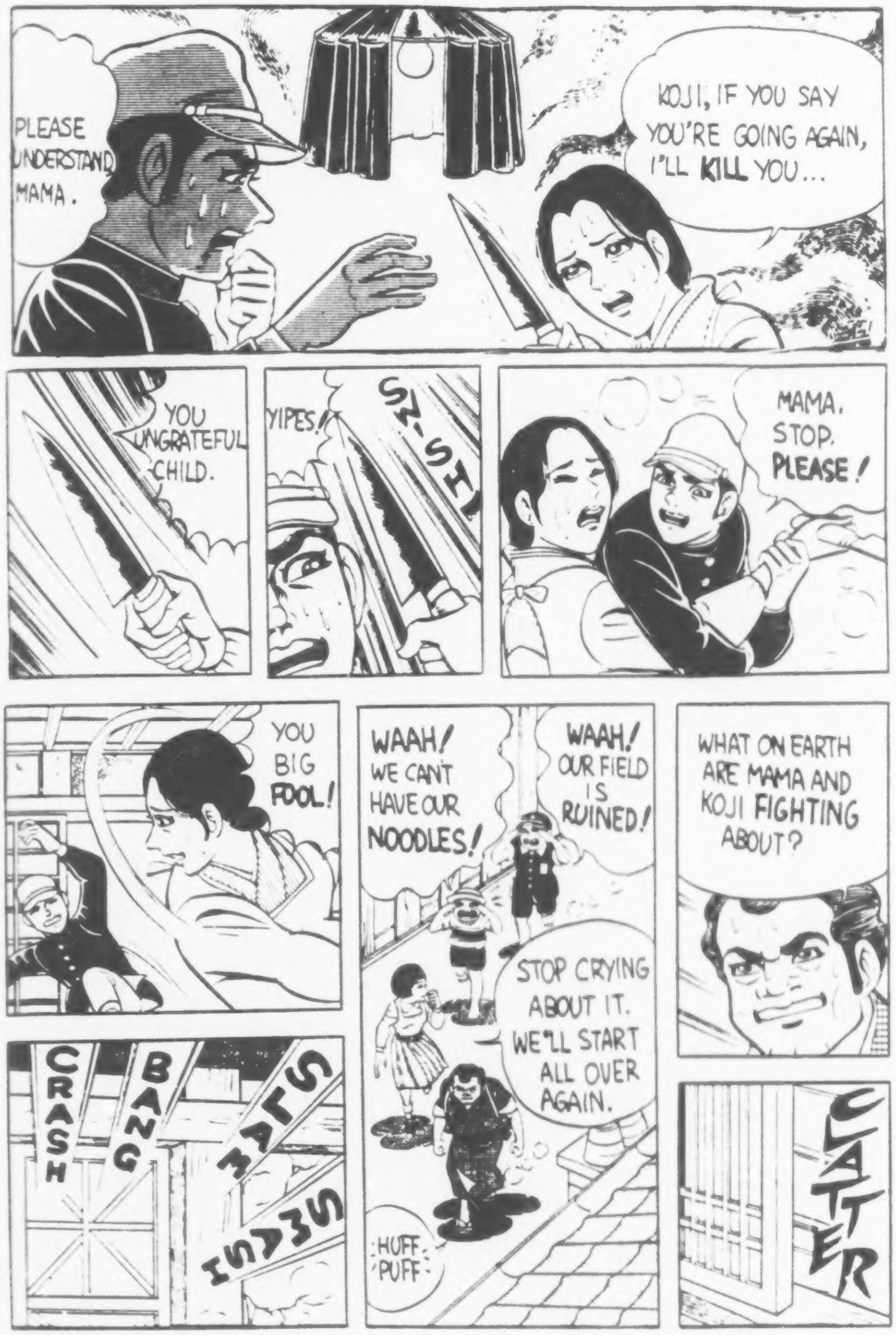
It is spring of 1945. Nakaoka Gen is a young boy living in Hiroshima. He lives with his father, Daikichi, his mother, Kimie, his younger brother, Shinji, and his older sister, Eiko. His brother Akira has been evacuated to the country with his third grade class. His older brother Koji has been drafted to work in a munitions factory and lives in a factory dormitory.

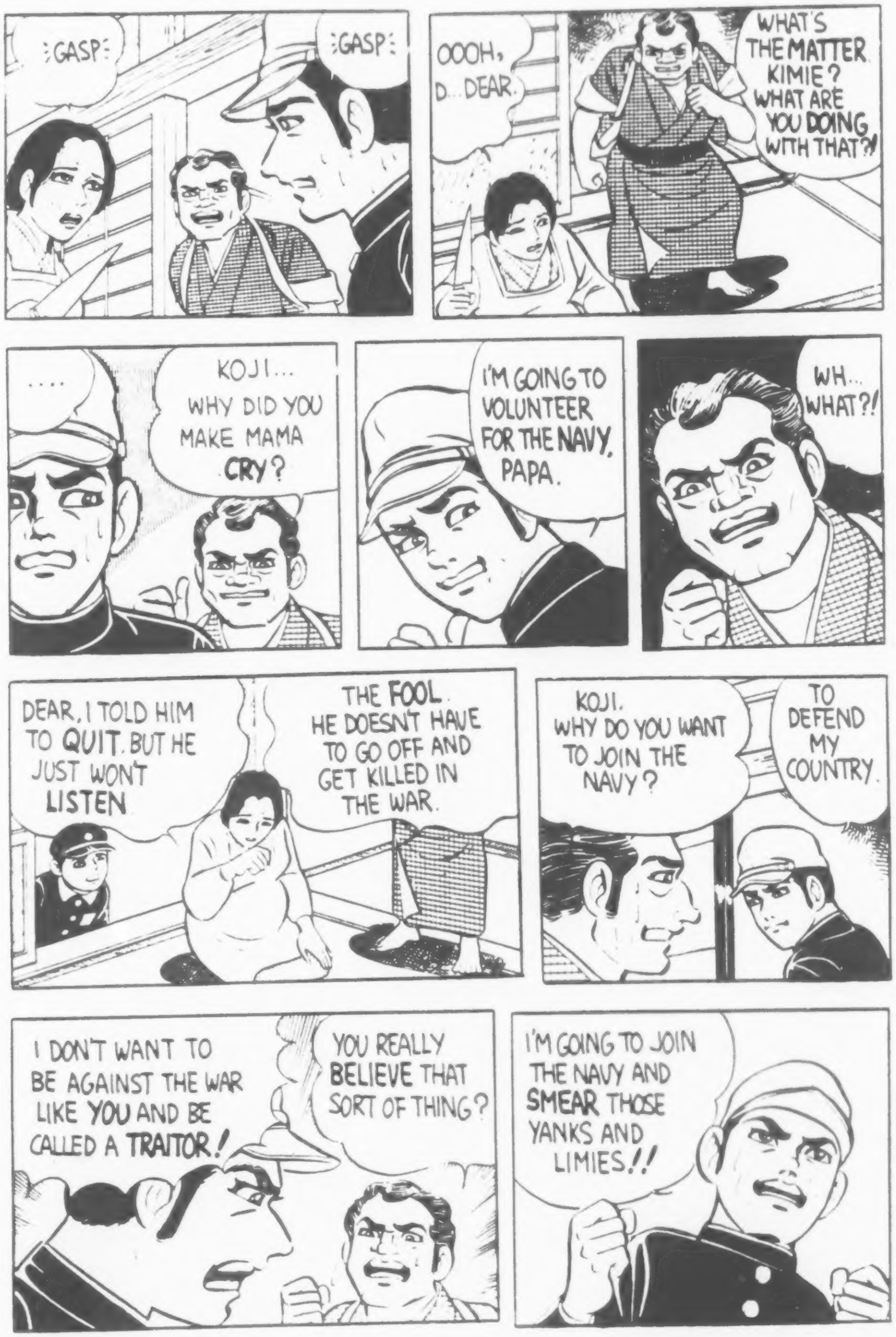
Food is scarce and life is hard. Gen's father believes that the war was started by the rich to gain wealth by force. Because of his opposition to the war, people say he is a traitor. Ryukichi is a bully and the son of the Town Chairman. He provokes a fight with the Nakaoka children because their father is against the war. Gen wins the fight but Ryukichi's father gets revenge by having Gen's father arrested for protesting the war.

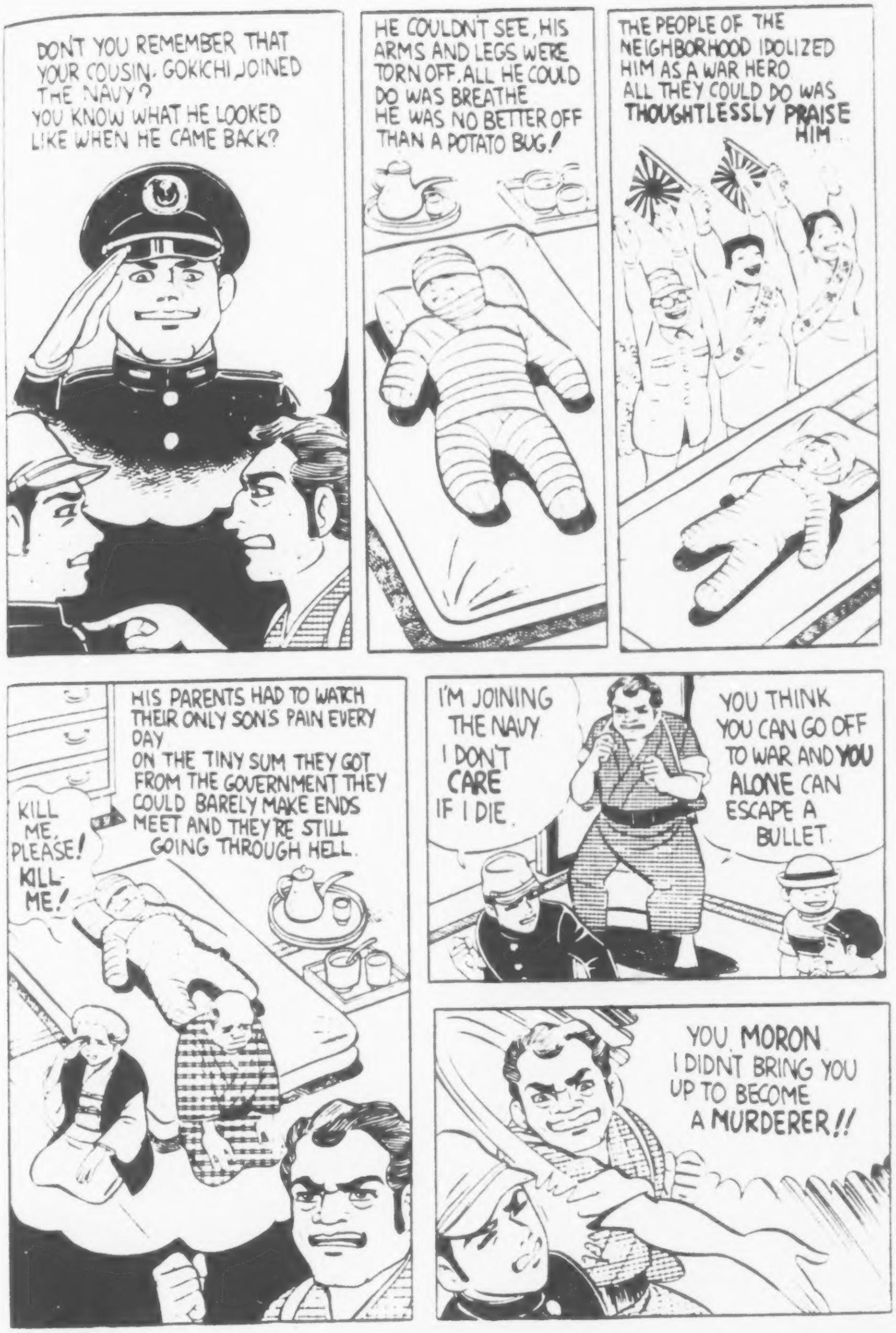
The policeman beats Gen's father and keeps him imprisoned. When Gen and Shinji overhear that the Chairman was the one who sent the police after their father, they attack him in the street and bite his fingers to the bone. The Chairman himself comes to the Nakaoka house later that night to arrest the boys. Kimie defends her sons by threatening the Chairman with a kitchen knife. She is restrained from killing him by her Korean neighbor, Mr. Pak.


HEY, PAPA !!!
GEN, EIKO!!! I THOUGHT YOU WERE HERE. HELP!!!
BIG BROTHER KOJI AND MAMA ARE FIGHTING. HURRY UP AND COME HOME.

Keiji Nakazawa, *Barefoot Gen. A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima.* Translated by Project Gen. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1987; pp. 86-96. Reprinted by permission.


PLEASE UNDERSTAND MAMA.
KOJI, IF YOU SAY YOU'RE GOING AGAIN, I'LL KILL YOU...
YOU UNGRATEFUL CHILD.
YIPES!
SW-SH
MAMA. STOP. PLEASE!
YOU BIG FOOL!
WAAH! WE CAN'T HAVE OUR NOODLES!
WAAH! OUR FIELD IS RUINED!
STOP CRYING ABOUT IT. WE'LL START ALL OVER AGAIN.
HUFF PUFF
WHAT ON EARTH ARE MAMA AND KOJI FIGHTING ABOUT?
CRASH
BANG
SLAM
SMASH
CLATTER


GASP
GASP
OOOH, D...DEAR.
WHAT'S THE MATTER KIMIE? WHAT ARE YOU DOING WITH THAT?!
....
KOJI... WHY DID YOU MAKE MAMA CRY?
I'M GOING TO VOLUNTEER FOR THE NAVY, PAPA.
WH... WHAT?!
DEAR, I TOLD HIM TO QUIT. BUT HE JUST WON'T LISTEN.
THE FOOL. HE DOESN'T HAVE TO GO OFF AND GET KILLED IN THE WAR.
KOJI. WHY DO YOU WANT TO JOIN THE NAVY?
TO DEFEND MY COUNTRY.
I DON'T WANT TO BE AGAINST THE WAR LIKE YOU AND BE CALLED A TRAITOR!
YOU REALLY BELIEVE THAT SORT OF THING?
I'M GOING TO JOIN THE NAVY AND SMEAR THOSE YANKS AND LIMIES!!


DON'T YOU REMEMBER THAT YOUR COUSIN, GOKICHI, JOINED THE NAVY? YOU KNOW WHAT HE LOOKED LIKE WHEN HE CAME BACK?
HE COULDN'T SEE, HIS ARMS AND LEGS WERE TORN OFF. ALL HE COULD DO WAS BREATHE. HE WAS NO BETTER OFF THAN A POTATO BUG!
THE PEOPLE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD IDOLIZED HIM AS A WAR HERO. ALL THEY COULD DO WAS THOUGHTLESSLY PRAISE HIM...
HIS PARENTS HAD TO WATCH THEIR ONLY SON'S PAIN EVERY DAY. ON THE TINY SUM THEY GOT FROM THE GOVERNMENT THEY COULD BARELY MAKE ENDS MEET AND THEY'RE STILL GOING THROUGH HELL.
KILL ME, PLEASE! KILL ME!
I'M JOINING THE NAVY. I DON'T CARE IF I DIE.
YOU THINK YOU CAN GO OFF TO WAR AND YOU ALONE CAN ESCAPE A BULLET.
YOU MORON. I DIDN'T BRING YOU UP TO BECOME A MURDERER!!

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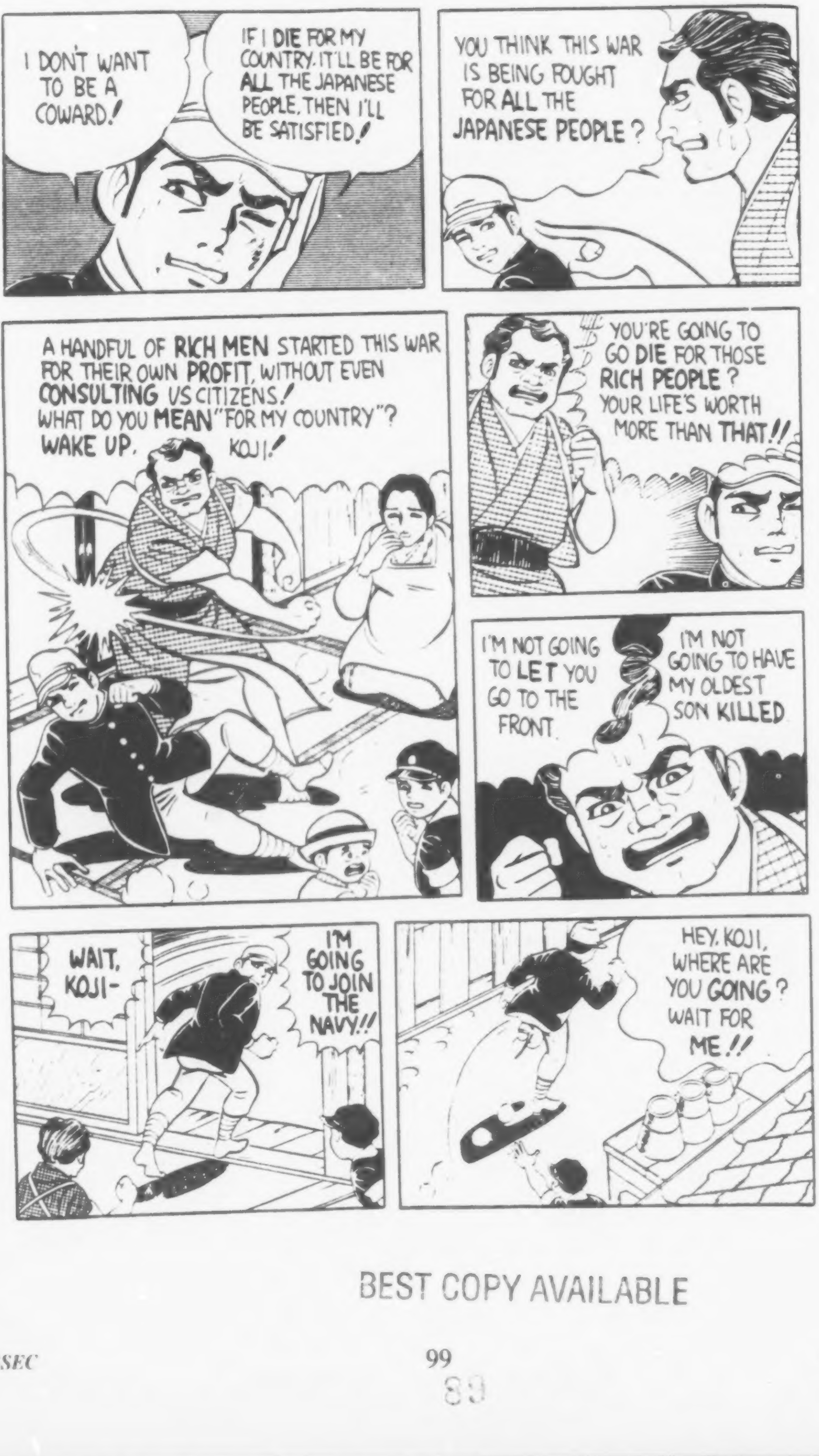
I DON'T WANT TO BE A COWARD!
IF I DIE FOR MY COUNTRY, IT'LL BE FOR ALL THE JAPANESE PEOPLE. THEN I'LL BE SATISFIED!
YOU THINK THIS WAR IS BEING FOUGHT FOR ALL THE JAPANESE PEOPLE?
A HANDFUL OF RICH MEN STARTED THIS WAR FOR THEIR OWN PROFIT, WITHOUT EVEN CONSULTING US CITIZENS! WHAT DO YOU MEAN "FOR MY COUNTRY"? WAKE UP, KOJI!
YOU'RE GOING TO GO DIE FOR THOSE RICH PEOPLE? YOUR LIFE'S WORTH MORE THAN THAT!!
I'M NOT GOING TO LET YOU GO TO THE FRONT.
I'M NOT GOING TO HAVE MY OLDEST SON KILLED
WAIT, KOJI-
I'M GOING TO JOIN THE NAVY!!
HEY, KOJI, WHERE ARE YOU GOING? WAIT FOR ME!!

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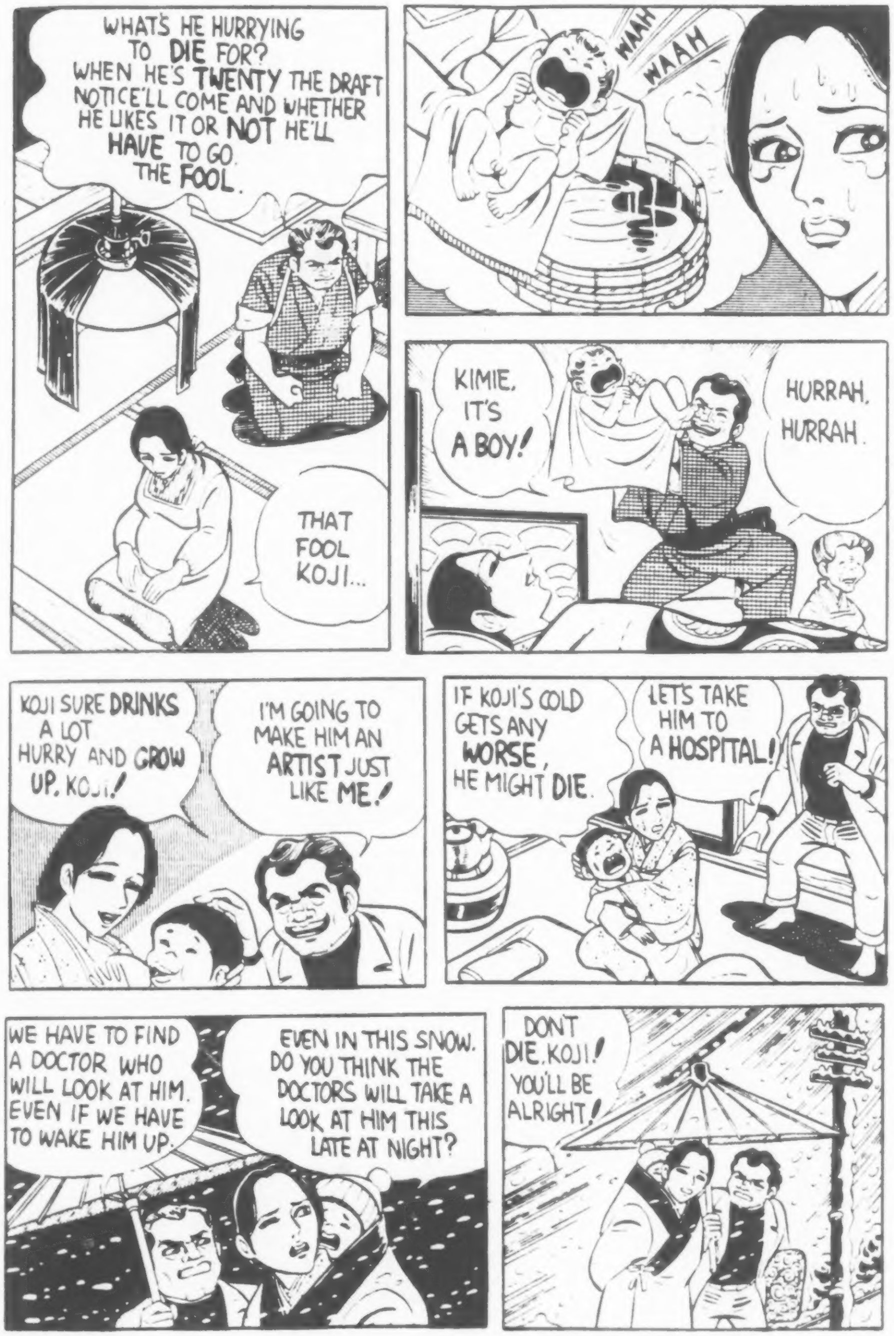
WHAT'S HE HURRYING TO DIE FOR? WHEN HE'S TWENTY THE DRAFT NOTICE'LL COME AND WHETHER HE LIKES IT OR NOT HE'LL HAVE TO GO. THE FOOL.
THAT FOOL KOJI...
WAAH
WAAH
KIMIE, IT'S A BOY!
HURRAH, HURRAH.
KOJI SURE DRINKS A LOT
HURRY AND GROW UP, KOJI!
I'M GOING TO MAKE HIM AN ARTIST JUST LIKE ME!
IF KOJI'S COLD GETS ANY WORSE, HE MIGHT DIE.
LET'S TAKE HIM TO A HOSPITAL!
WE HAVE TO FIND A DOCTOR WHO WILL LOOK AT HIM. EVEN IF WE HAVE TO WAKE HIM UP.
EVEN IN THIS SNOW. DO YOU THINK THE DOCTORS WILL TAKE A LOOK AT HIM THIS LATE AT NIGHT?
DON'T DIE, KOJI! YOU'LL BE ALRIGHT!

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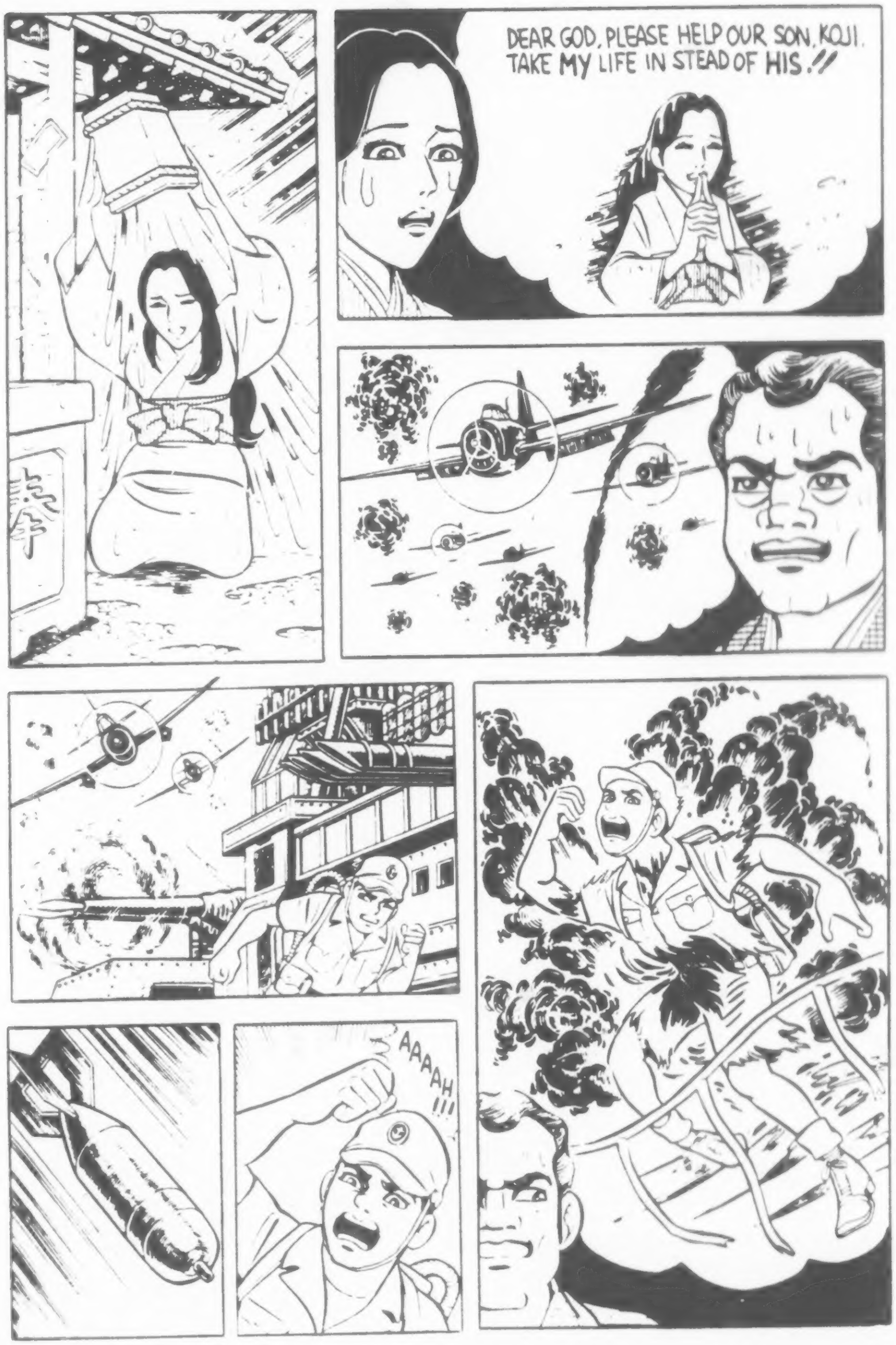
DEAR GOD, PLEASE HELP OUR SON, KOJI. TAKE MY LIFE IN STEAD OF HIS.!!
AAAAH!!!

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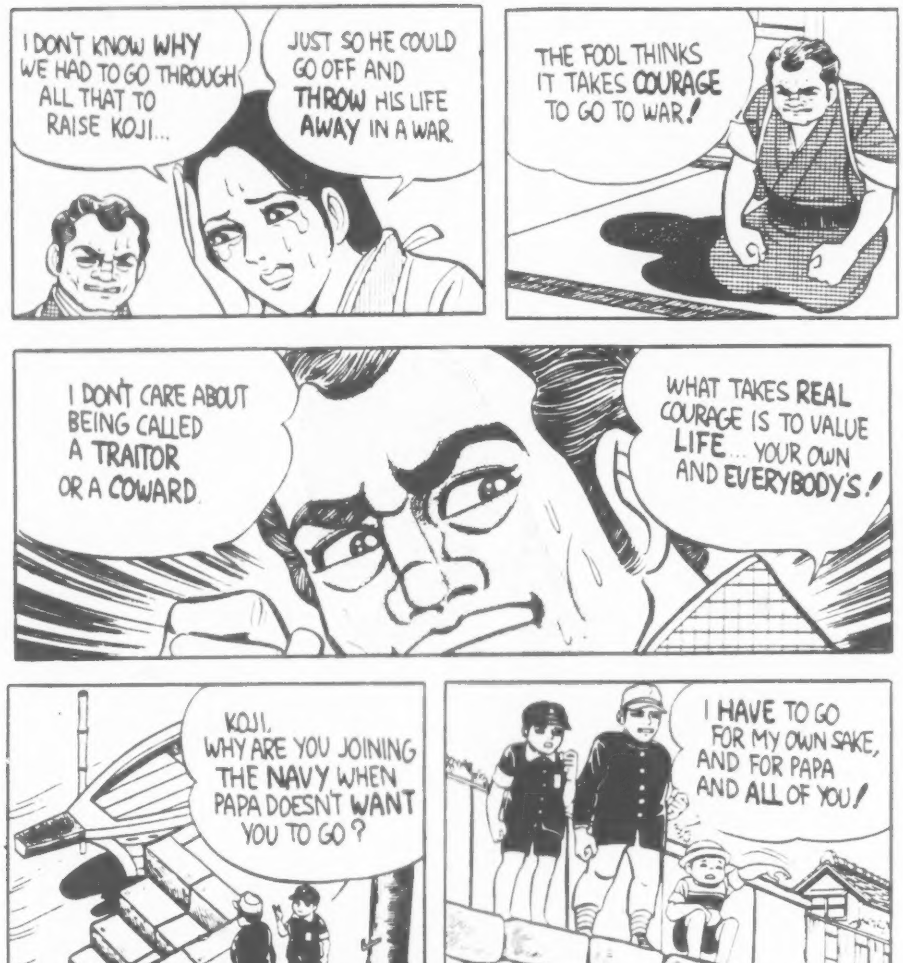
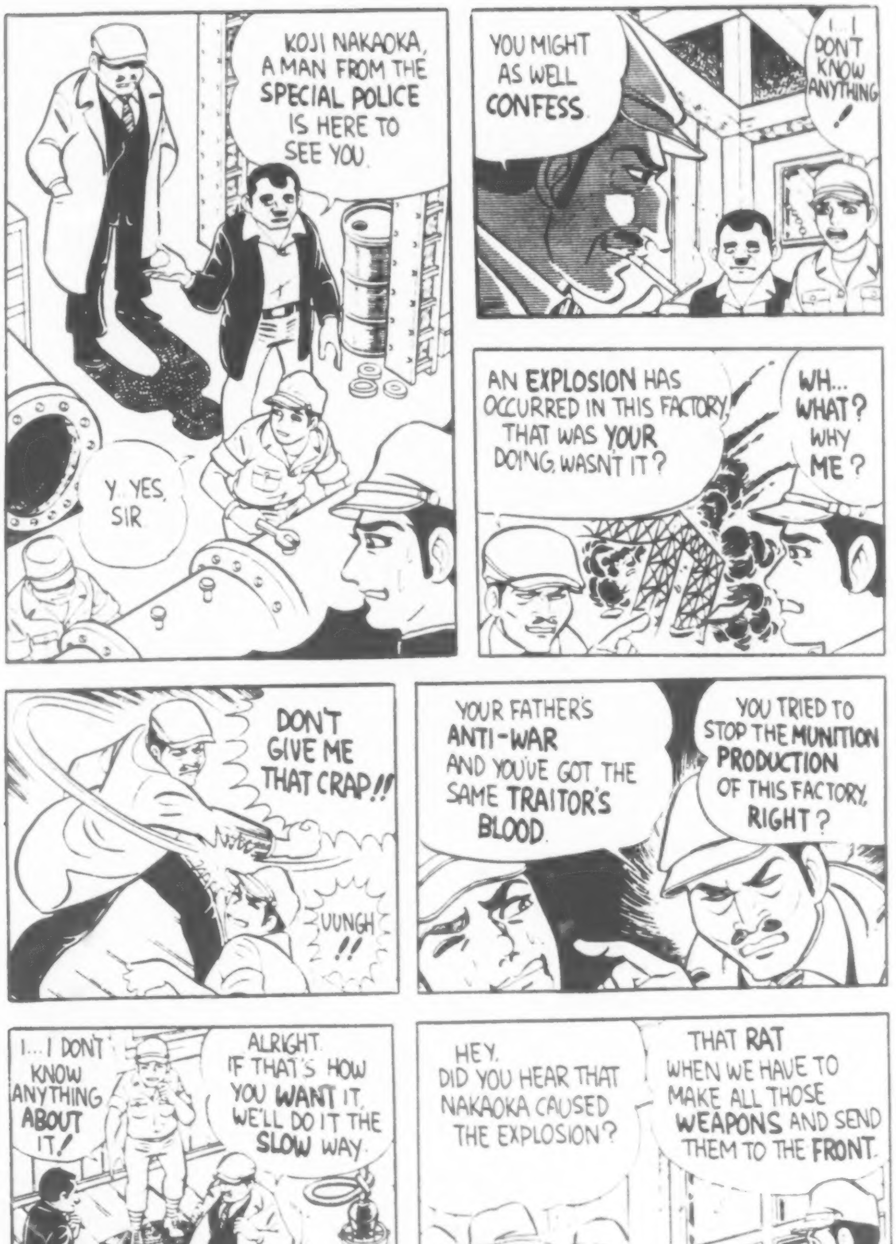

I DON'T KNOW WHY WE HAD TO GO THROUGH ALL THAT TO RAISE KOJI...
JUST SO HE COULD GO OFF AND THROW HIS LIFE AWAY IN A WAR
THE FOOL THINKS IT TAKES COURAGE TO GO TO WAR!
I DON'T CARE ABOUT BEING CALLED A TRAITOR OR A COWARD.
WHAT TAKES REAL COURAGE IS TO VALUE LIFE... YOUR OWN AND EVERYBODY'S!
KOJI, WHY ARE YOU JOINING THE NAVY WHEN PAPA DOESN'T WANT YOU TO GO?
I HAVE TO GO FOR MY OWN SAKE, AND FOR PAPA AND ALL OF YOU!
DO YOU KNOW HOW I'M TREATED AT THE FACTORY BECAUSE PAPA'S AGAINST THE WAR?


KOJI NAKAOKA, A MAN FROM THE SPECIAL POLICE IS HERE TO SEE YOU.
Y.. YES, SIR
YOU MIGHT AS WELL CONFESS.
I.. I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING!
AN EXPLOSION HAS OCCURRED IN THIS FACTORY, THAT WAS YOUR DOING, WASN'T IT?
WH... WHAT? WHY ME?
DON'T GIVE ME THAT CRAP!!
UUNGH!!
YOUR FATHER'S ANTI-WAR AND YOU'VE GOT THE SAME TRAITOR'S BLOOD.
YOU TRIED TO STOP THE MUNITION PRODUCTION OF THIS FACTORY, RIGHT?
I... I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT IT!
ALRIGHT. IF THAT'S HOW YOU WANT IT, WE'LL DO IT THE SLOW WAY.
HEY. DID YOU HEAR THAT NAKAOKA CAUSED THE EXPLOSION?
THAT RAT WHEN WE HAVE TO MAKE ALL THOSE WEAPONS AND SEND THEM TO THE FRONT.

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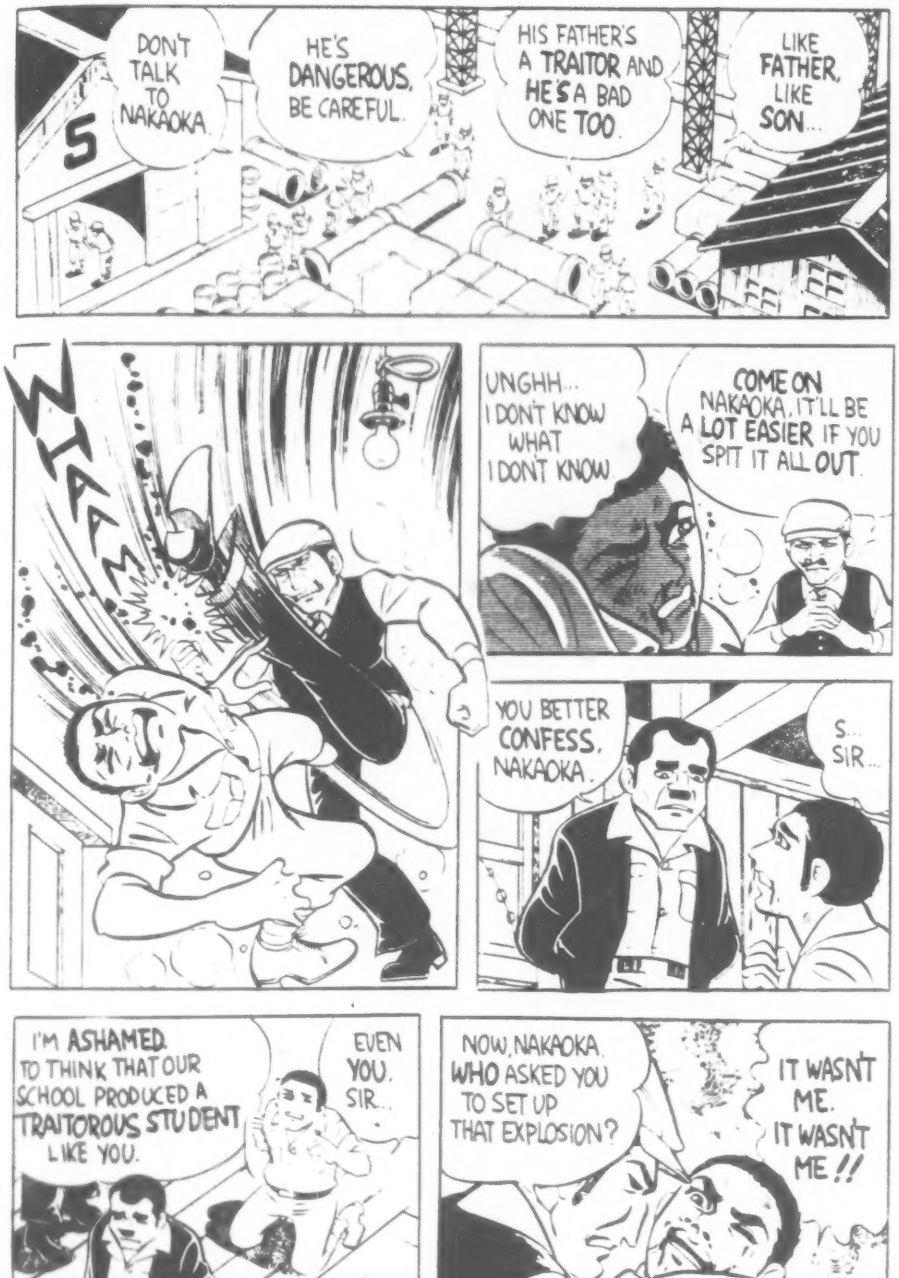
DON'T TALK TO NAKAOKA.
HE'S DANGEROUS, BE CAREFUL.
HIS FATHER'S A TRAITOR AND HE'S A BAD ONE TOO.
LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON...
S
WHAAAM
UNGHH... I DON'T KNOW WHAT I DON'T KNOW.
COME ON NAKAOKA, IT'LL BE A LOT EASIER IF YOU SPIT IT ALL OUT.
YOU BETTER CONFESS, NAKAOKA.
S... SIR...
I'M ASHAMED TO THINK THAT OUR SCHOOL PRODUCED A TRAITOROUS STUDENT LIKE YOU.
EVEN YOU, SIR...
NOW, NAKAOKA, WHO ASKED YOU TO SET UP THAT EXPLOSION?
IT WASN'T ME. IT WASN'T ME!!

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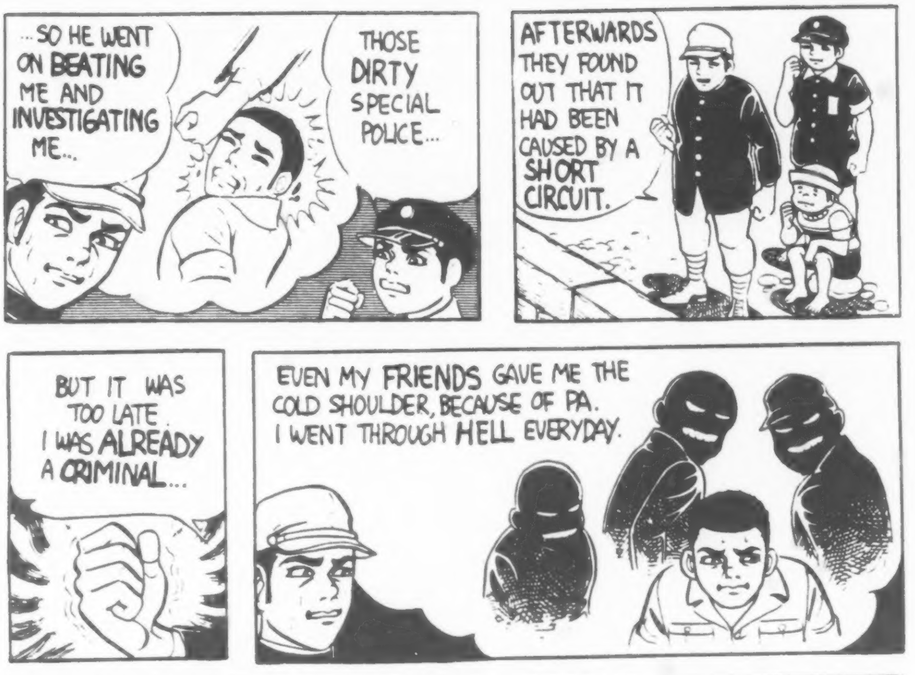
...SO HE WENT ON BEATING ME AND INVESTIGATING ME...
THOSE DIRTY SPECIAL POLICE...
AFTERWARDS THEY FOUND OUT THAT IT HAD BEEN CAUSED BY A SHORT CIRCUIT.
BUT IT WAS TOO LATE. I WAS ALREADY A CRIMINAL...
EVEN MY FRIENDS GAVE ME THE COLD SHOULDER, BECAUSE OF PA. I WENT THROUGH HELL EVERYDAY.
SO YOU TOO, HUH, KOJI?
I'M GOING TO JOIN THE NAVY AND SHOW THEM THAT I'M NO TRAITOR.
GEN. SHINJI, I'M GOING TO WAR AND KILL THOSE AMERICANS AND BRITISH. KILL'EM, KILL EM ALL!
I'M GOING TO COME BACK WITH MEDALS SO YOU CAN ALL WALK AROUND TOWN WITH YOUR HEADS UP HIGH.

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A Scene from *Harp of Burma:* Soldiers in a Cave

by Takeyama Michio

Note: Takeyama Michio (1903-1984) graduated from Tokyo University with a major in German literature. After teaching for a short time in a Tokyo high school, he traveled to Europe to continue his studies. Much of his life's work was devoted to translating German classics into Japanese. The novel Harp of Burma *was published in 1946, and won Takeyama a prize for literature, presented by the Mainichi Press. It is the story of a company of Japanese soldiers in Burma. Originally intended for a juvenile audience, it became immensely popular among adults. The tale has been captured on film and is also available on video cassette in this country. The selection from the novel repinted below presents one view of patriotism. How is the patriotism expressed by the soldiers in the cave different from the patriotism expressed by the "singing company" (Handout 2H)?*

* * *

After a while I stood up and waved, but I was greeted with another burst of fire. Machine-gun bullets stitched a seam around me, and dust rose from each stitch. The rock chipped, and grass started to burn. I dropped flat again.

Since it was useless to keep on doing this, I jumped down from the outcrop and began running straight ahead. They must have recognized me as Japanese, for the firing stopped abruptly. I scrambled up the face of the rocky mountain. Some Japanese soldiers reached out of a cave and hauled me in.

"You made it!" They seemed delighted to see me.

"How'd you do it?"

"Where's your outfit?"

"You've got plenty of nerve!" Someone filled a mess tin lid to the brim with what seemed to be water, and gave it to me. "Here, drink this." I drank it down in one gulp. Then I realized that it was sake.

"We're going to fight it out," one of them told me. "You can join us—don't you have a gun? Well, take this one." He handed me a rifle.

Takeyama Michio, *Harp of Burma*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1966, pp. 98-103. Reprinted with permission.

A man who looked like their captain came in through a tunnel. It was so dark in the cave that at first I could hardly make out anything, but by now I saw a large group of men huddled together at the mouth of the tunnel, looking at me. "Glad to see you!" they said, with strained, contorted smiles. "How's your outfit doing?" All of them were stripped for action, naked from the waist up; their thin bodies were black with gun smoke, and their eyes were bloodshot.

The captain was a broad-shouldered man with a round, flushed face and a short mustache. He looked extremely tenacious. I could see at once that his men loved him. He was elated at this chance to show an outsider that his company was fighting to the death. As he gripped my hand, his eyes sparkled.

"We're really giving it to them, aren't we?" he said. "Pretty good morale, eh?" Then he asked if I had brought a message.

Standing at attention before him, I stated my mission. I told him what had happened to the other Japanese forces, and urged him to surrender.

Suddenly, while I was still trying to explain the situation, the captain roars, "That's enough!" The blood vessels on his forehead and neck stood out purple with rage; he was so furious he could hardly talk. "Surrender!" he blurted out violently. "How dare you say surrender! That's disgusting! If we surrendered now, we'd be insulting the men who have already died. Our company isn't cowardly like yours. We're going to fight till we're wiped out!"

"What good will it do to be wiped out?" I said. "We've got to live. We've got to live and struggle and work, for the sake of our country."

"For the sake of our country!" one of the soldiers exclaimed scornfully, glancing over at his captain too. The captain nodded approvingly.

"If nobody at home surrenders how can Japan lose?"

They all talked that way, meanwhile gulping down sake which they dipped from an open keg in the middle of the cave.

As I listened I felt that these raging men were controlled by a strange force. Perhaps they were thinking different thoughts, but as a group their individuality had faded away. Having incited one another with a false show of courage, they could no longer back down. They could no longer take a different attitude. Something other than the will of the individual was making decisions and manipulating the group. I was at a loss as to how to come to grips with this stubborn thing. No doubt some of the men were determined to fight to the death—yet there also seemed to be those who doubted if that was the right course of action. But they could not speak out. Besides being too weak to resist the crowd, they were ignorant of the actual situation. They had no way to judge it. Even if they wanted to assert their opinion, they had nothing solid to build on. That is why the spirited but reckless argument had won the day—or so it seemed.

"Get out! You're no Japanese, a dirty coward like you. Go on, get out!"

"No, I'm staying till you come to your senses."

"If you don't go, you'll die here—you'd hate to lose your precious life, wouldn't you?"

"I don't want to throw my life away for nothing."

"Oh? You think we're fighting for nothing?"

"It's no use to your country or to yourselves. There's no point to it."

"Traitor!"

One of the soldiers tried to hit me. I dodged and his fist struck the harp I had slung over my shoulder.

"What's that thing?" he shouted. "Why are you fooling with a thing like that?"

"I use it to send secret messages!" I shouted back.

Time was running out. I spoke to the captain once more. "Sir, you're responsible for the lives of these men," I told him point blank. "If they die needlessly, can you accept the blame? Can you justify yourself to your country, and to their families?

The captain caught his breath, as if he had been slapped in the face. He hesitated a moment, then turned and said, "All right. Just for the record, let's see what everybody thinks."

At his command, the men filed through a small opening at the back into another cave, leaving a guard behind with me.

I looked at my watch. Only ten minutes left.

I felt nervous and impatient. There were loud voices in the other cave. I yelled in, "Please make up your minds in the next five minutes!"

The guard whispered, "How do things stand, anyway?" He seemed very uneasy. Then he went on, as if muttering to himself, "There are lots of wounded men in that cave, and they all say they want to get it over with. . . ."

I could hear the captain asking questions and the men shouting back their answers. A few minutes later they returned, in a state of high excitement. Obviously the spirit that had carried them this far was still intact. If I could have talked with them quietly for an hour or so I might have been able to change some of their minds, but under this kind of pressure nothing could be done. There was exactly five minutes left.

Fixing his eyes on me, the captain declared in a loud voice, "Every man here is resolved to defend our position to the death. That's that."

I was speechless. I could feel the blood rush to my head. Some of the soldiers were crying, "Banzai!"

Dazedly, I started toward the mouth of the cave. All I could do now was ask the British commander to give me a little more time.

As I reached the opening, insults were hurled at my back.

"Weakling! Coward! Go on and save your own skin!"

But their voices sounded pitiful. They were the bitter, envious voices of the doomed, flung at a man who would go on living.

I flew into a rage and shouted wildly, "I'm no coward!"

"Why are you giving yourself up then?"

"Is life so dear to you?"

Looking back, I saw them huddled miserably together with their arms around each other's shoulders.

"Listen!" I yelled. "In three minutes the British attack. I'll go out and be first to die. When I die, you surrender. You'll see if I'm a coward!"

I jumped down from the cave and dashed over to a tree stump in the no man's land between the cliff and the British position. Putting one foot up on the stump, I set the harp on my knee and started to play.

About a minute later the British opened fire. The Japanese on the peak returned it. Smoke and the acrid smell of gunpowder drifted into my nostrils. Soon it enveloped me like a thick fog, in the midst of which, feeling half numb, I plucked away at my harp.

Bullets whizzed past my ears with the shrill crack of a whip. I heard blood-curdling noises of splitting and rending all around me. The rocky face of the cliff began to chip away here and there. The British position was under heavy fire too.

At the beginning I could not hear the sound of my own harp. But after a while the music penetrated my deafened ears. Gradually it swelled louder, and as I listened I felt as if my body and soul were floating in a void. At last the harp was really singing. It had never sounded so loud and clear before. The air was thick with swirling, choking gun smoke.

"Sing!" I shouted as I lashed my harp. "Sing till your strings snap! When you're through singing and I'm dead, the men will be saved."

But then a bullet struck the harp with a thud, scattering the orchids and red feathers that decorated it. The harp was ruined.

"Now I'm done for!" I cried.

My mission was a total failure. . . . I stood there in blank dejection, the harp dangling from my hand. And then I felt something like the blow of a club against my thigh, a blow that knocked me over. I tried to jump to my feet but tumbled back again. My leg felt cold and wet, and I saw that it was bleeding.

As I lay on the ground I knew that I was slowly losing consciousness. Somehow I had a feeling of calm and relaxation. It was as if nothing more concerned me, I had no sense of dread or fear. I recall gazing dully at the scene as if I were watching lantern slides. A white flag dangled in the mouth of a cave. Then Japanese soldiers came pouring out. The British troops ceased fire.

Drowsily I looked up at the sky. I remember fluffy white clouds floating in the intensely blue evening sky. The sky and the surrounding mountains seemed to be rushing toward me at a furious speed.

Some time later I saw men carrying things out of the caves of the rocky mountain. My mind had begun to clear a little. I was so thirsty my throat seemed to be on fire. Then I became aware of the sound of running water somewhere below me. Without thinking, I started to crawl toward it. I could not yet feel the pain of my wound but my whole body was stiff, as if bound and fettered.

I kept on crawling until I reached a flat boulder near the foot of the mountain. I could hear a waterfall below. When I leaned forward, the boulder tipped over the edge of a low bluff. I fell, and everything went black.

A Scene from *Harp of Burma*: The Singing Company

by Takeyama Michio

Note: Harp of Burma *was published in 1946. It is the story of a company of Japanese soldiers in Burma. Originally intended for a juvenile audience, it became immensely popular among adults. The tale has been captured on film and is also available on video cassette in this country. The selection from the novel reprinted below offers one view of patriotism. The selection in Handout 2G presents another view. How do the two groups—the "singing company" and the "soldiers in a cave"—differ in their definitions of patriotism?*

* * *

Suddenly we noticed that we were alone. For some reason, all the Burmese had slipped away.

That little girl, the young men—even the chief who had been so busy feeding us was gone. So was our guide, who had promised to arrange for our night's lodgings. We were alone in the house singing to the scattered chairs and remnants of the feast. Even outside, under the windows or in the open space, there were no Burmese to be seen. They had all simply disappeared.

Panic gripped us, and someone shouted, "Stop singing!"

It had often happened that our troops were warmly received in a Burmese village, after which the natives melted out of sight and the enemy attacked from ambush. That was what we seemed to be facing now.

We had to prepare to fight immediately. We had to take up battle positions, put our vital supplies in safe places, find cover for ourselves, dig fox holes. Some of the men started to head for their guns, or rush out of the building.

"Hold it!" the captain ordered. Then, in a low, steady voice, "Go on singing."

After that he began whispering rapidly. "We can't let on we know what's coming. We've got to keep singing as if nothing is wrong—and get ready for them at the same time.

Takeyama Michio, *Harp of Burma*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1966, pp. 26-31. Reprinted with permission.

It's only been a few minutes since the natives cleared out of here, so the enemy may not attack right away. But once they realize we're digging in, they'll come after us."

We saw that he was right. And we went on singing.

Meanwhile, several of our men crawled across the floor below the enemy's line of sight to where our weapons had been piled, and brought them back to distribute among us. Singing as calmly and deliberately as we could, we put on our leggings, buckled on our cartridge belts, and took up rifles and ammunition.

We finished "Wild Roses" and began another song. As we sang, we crouched in the shadows and peered through binoculars at the forest. Already we saw a few Gurkhas and turbaned Indian soldiers. You could see them running from cover to cover, scattering among the trees to form a skirmish line. Still singing, we shivered with agitation. Our song was a sad, solemn one, and we sang it as if for the last time. All the while, the captain was busy whispering orders, dividing us into groups of ten, posting us in strategic places.

When the song ended, he ordered, "Clap your hands! Laugh!" We did as we were told, clapping and roaring with laughter.

"We can't tell when they'll open fire," he sent on, "but we need every minute they give us. Let's try to keep them off their guard till dark, if possible. Now, once more—laugh!"

We clapped hands again and laughed. But it wasn't easy—after all, machine guns were trained on us from the forest, ready to blaze away at any minute.

Finally, there was only one task left to do, but it was a critically important one. A cart loaded with ammunition cases stood out in the open, and we had to have it safe and close at hand. Furthermore, we had to move it without giving ourselves away to the enemy, though surely they were watching us through their binoculars.

How could we manage that? Still singing, we racked our brains to think of a way. If a single bullet hit that case, we would be finished. Our whole supply of ammunition would explode. We looked at Mizushima, who was good at solving problems like this. He was laughing and singing too, and playing his harp, but we could tell he was thinking as hard as he could. At last he began whispering to the captain.

The trick they agreed on had some of us file out of the house singing a cheerful tune. Mizushima led the parade, playing the harp as he went. The rest followed right behind him carrying flowers that the young men of the village had thrown at the dancing girl. Everyone laughed uproariously, and some even pranced and romped about, imitating a Burmese dance.

We lifted Mizushima up on the cart. He stood on the ammunition cases, propped his harp on one knee, and began playing a gay, lively tune. We surrounded the cart, waving the flowers in our hands, and sang in chorus.

Our plan was to draw the cart in as if we were pulling along a festival float. In order to save our breath we picked a slow song—*Hanyū no Yado*.

Apparently the enemy troops had finished deploying, since you couldn't see any movements in the forest. It had become deathly quiet.

We were literally singing for our lives. At any moment there might be a volley of gunfire from the forest. We would have to push the heavy cart as quickly as we could, and yet make it look as if we were doing it for fun. If a bullet flew out of the forest and hit the case it meant certain death—not only for Mizushima, who was standing on it, but for all of us.

The cart began to move. Sometimes we had to clear stones from its path, or heave it up with our shoulders as we pushed it forward. Straining, grasping for breath, still we did our best with *Hanyū no Yado*. On top, Mizushima kept playing his special accompaniment as vigorously as ever. *Hanyū no Yado* is a slow, mournful melody that would touch anyone's heart. Our voices harmonized, low and high parts blending, following, intermingling with one another.

At least the cart had come within four or five yards of our destination.

Suddenly it was night. In the tropics the border between day and night is sharp; as soon as the sun drops below the horizon it becomes pitch-dark. This was an immense advantage to us. All our other preparations were made. Here and there in the shadows little groups of our men crouched with their fingers on their rifle triggers. The captain had his hand on his saber and was staring hard in the direction of the enemy, waiting for the moment to give the command to charge.

Just as the cart reached a safe place, we came to the end of *Hanyū no Yado*.

Instantly the captain drew out his saber. Those of us who had brought the cart stopped singing and took up our rifles. During that brief interval of stillness you could hear, quite distinctly, the river flowing in the valley far below. The birds that had been busily twittering until a few minutes ago were now all fast asleep.

The captain raised his saber. The soldiers were poised, ready to shout their battle cry and charge. But just then the captain checked his command and stood transfixed. An extraordinary thing was happening. Out of the forest soared a voice—a high, clear voice, fervently singing *Hanyū no Yado*.

The captain grabbed one of our men who had started forward, and blocked others by spreading out his arms.

"Wait!" he shouted. "Listen to that!"

The voice in the forest was joined by two or three more, and then by voices from here, there, and everywhere. It was *Hanyū no Yado* sung in English: "Home, home, sweet home . . . ."

We looked at each other in astonishment. What could this mean? Weren't the men in the forest the dreaded enemy soldiers who were out to kill us? Were they only the villagers? In that case, we needn't have been so anxious. We gave a sigh of relief and lowered our guns.

Now the forest was full of singing voices. A chorus arose even from the base of the cliff hanging over the river. We joined in and sang too.

The moon was shining. Everything was dyed blue in its cool light. There seemed to be luminous pillars of glass between the trees. One by one, shadowy figures came running out of that forest into the open space.

They were British soldiers.

Gathering into little groups here and there, they sang "Home Sweet Home" with true feeling. We had always thought *Hanyū no Yado* was a Japanese song, but it is actually an old English melody. Englishmen sing it out of nostalgic pride and longing for the joys of their beloved home; whenever they hear it, they think of their childhood, of their mothers, of the places where they grew up. And so they were astonished and moved to hear their enemy—the dangerous enemy they had surrounded high in the mountains of Burma—singing this song.

By this time we were no longer enemies. The battle never began. Before we quite knew what had happened, we were all singing together and coming up to one another to shake hands. Finally we built a bonfire in the middle of the open space and sat around it singing in chorus under the baton of our captain.

A tall Indian soldier pulled out a photograph of his family and gazed at it by the light of the fire. He was a stately, dignified looking man with a white turban and a black beard, but his eyes were as gentle as a lamb's. He showed us the photograph—of his wife and two children smiling under a palm tree. It turned out that he was a businessman from Calcutta.

A soldier whose nationality we couldn't tell asked us to show him our family pictures. One of our men pulled out a picture of his mother; the other soldier looked at it with tears in his eyes.

A ruddy-faced English soldier began to sing "If a body meet a body . . ." He was joined by one of our men, singing in Japanese. Then the Englishman put his arm around our man's shoulder and they strode about together. The Japanese soldier sang at the top of his voice. We all joined in once again.

Mizushima improvised a beautiful accompaniment for this song too. Even the Englishmen applauded him loudly. Looking at the side of his face lit up by the firelight, you could see that tears were streaming down his cheek as he played. There were tears in everyone's eyes as we sang together.

That night we learned that the war had ended three days earlier. Having no way to let their ferocious enemy know, the British troops thought they might have to annihilate us in order to mop up resistance. We threw down our guns.

Handout 21
Page 1 of 1

Views of Patriotism

Voice	Message

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3 Who Were the Non-Conformists? The Dissidents?

Introduction: During the first half of the 20th century, not everyone in Japan responded to the government's appeals to patriotism and sacrifice in the same way. Many people did as they were told—some out of genuine love of country, others out of fear of social ostracism or persecution by the authorities. On the other hand, some people resisted through political activism or silent non-conformity, through artistic license or subversion and sabotage. The government and police did their best to repress such resistance, keeping dissent out of the public eye by control of the media, accusing dissenters of treason and punishing them severely. Nonetheless, some Japanese continued to disobey the rules of correct patriotic thought and behavior. To promote loyalty and support for increasingly aggressive policies, the government began to introduce formal controls such as the Liaison Council and Planning Board, and finally the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. By 1941, Japan was a totalitarian state.

In this lesson, students are introduced to individuals, both real and fictional, who chose not to conform to the Japanese government's standards for behavior during the war years of the Imperial period. Two of the sources are fiction, so students must become aware of the value and dangers of using artistic works as means to understanding history. Artists do not strive for a detached view, as historians are supposed to do, but rather desire to have an emotional (and possibly political) impact on their audiences. Thus, fictional accounts might have profound effects on readers, for they appeal to the senses of fair play, justice, and individual rights. But because they are art, not history, fictional accounts can also distort the past and deceive the reader. For this reason, the fictional excerpts provided as part of this lesson are preceded by the authors' biographies to give students and teachers some clues about the political and artistic agendas of the writers and of the characters they created.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Analyze Japanese textbook lessons to learn what it meant to be a good Japanese subject during the Imperial period.

2. Speculate on what types of groups or individuals might have had difficulty conforming to the government-prescribed "ideal" behavior of the period.

3. Explain the meaning and implications of being a non-conformist or dissident during times of war in Japan and the United States.

4. Cite specifics about the philosophy and actions of a communist dissident during

Japan's Imperial period.

5. Explain the presence, but limited effectiveness, of dissidents during the war periods.

Time required: 2 class periods

Materials: Handouts 3A through 3E; Handout 3A made into an overhead transparency; overhead projector; VCR and monitor (optional); video of the film *Twenty-four Eyes* (optional, may be available in larger video stores)

Procedure:

Part I: Japanese Textbooks on Patriotism

1. At the beginning of class, use the overhead projector to display a transparency of Handout 3A, excerpts from Japanese textbooks (1910 and 1933-1938). These excerpts describe ideal social and political behavior for a Japanese subject at certain times during the Imperial period. Discuss the recommended behavior with students. What messages do the textbook excerpts carry for Japanese subjects of the time? *Possible answers include: Honor the emperor to the point of giving one's life for him; be patriotic; be a soldier even as a civilian; invent something useful; do* not *become agitated.*

As an alternative, this lesson may be introduced at the end of a class period by distributing copies of Handout 3A to all students and asking them to identify the messages in the texts for homework. In this case, begin the next day's lesson with the discussion outlined above for this reading.

2. Ask students to suggest the political terms in the United States that might be used to describe people who refuse to follow prescribed or accepted norms of political or social behavior. *Students may suggest terms such as weird, non-conformist, dissident, traitor, left-wing, right-wing, politically incorrect. Students may ascribe to such people a particular leaning, such as communist, socialist, radical, or reactionary.* If students have taken a U.S. history course, ask them to share some examples of individuals or groups who refused to conform to government expectations in our country during times of war, including the Cold War.

3. Remind students that Japan was at war for nearly 20 of the first 45 years of this century, and that government expectations of subject loyalty were high. Explain that not all Japanese favored war; both groups and individuals opposed it. For example, many Buddhists, Christians, feminists, artists, and communists vocalized their objections or protested silently, as did many ordinary people. However, although there may have been thousands of non-conformists and dissidents who opposed Japan's military expansion in the early 20th century, they were a powerless minority.

Part II: Dissident Writers

1. Introduce students to Kobayashi Takiji, a now-famous dissident of Japan's Imperial period. Note that this writer is often referred to by his given name, Takiji. Have students read in class Handout 3B, a brief biography of this writer. As they read, students should jot down evidence from Takiji's life that suggests he might have had difficulty conforming to the expectations listed in the sample textbook lessons. Through class discussion, address some of the following questions:

- What behavior qualified Takiji as a non-conformist? A dissident?
- What did he do (or not do) that conflicted with the behavior of an "ideal" Japanese citizen?

Ask students to support their comments with quotes from the reading. *For example, it would be hard to believe that Takiji saw himself as a soldier; he did not work diligently at patriotism and loyalty, and so on.*

Before closing discussion of Takiji's life, remind students that he by no means represents all non-conformists or dissidents in Japan during the period, but he does represent one type. Although the communist party was outlawed in Japan until after the Pacific War, Takiji was a member of a small communist dissident group active in Japan during the 1920s and '30s. His life and work show the influence of the 1917 Russian Revolution on Japanese society.

2. For homework, assign Handout 3C, an excerpt from Kobayashi Takiji's "The Factory Ship." As a result of reading the biography, students should already have an idea of Takiji's subject matter. Ask students to look for words or ideas in this excerpt that would conflict with the sample textbook lessons.

3. Display a map that shows Japan and the former Soviet Union so that students can see their proximity. (Handout 1A from this unit may be used for this purpose.) Ask students why Japan's proximity to the Soviet Union was important during the Imperial period. *Students should be able to note that trade of both goods and ideas was possible with little effort.*

4. Review homework with students, focusing on conflicts between what was expected of a loyal Japanese and the messages of the excerpt of "The Factory Ship." *It is clear in the excerpt that the Russians* (Kobayashi's term) *tell the Japanese workers that they are exploited, that it's not right, and that the rich (owners and managers) are responsible. It is also clear that the head fisherman fears a Russian takeover.*

Discuss some of the reasons governments found the ideas of proletarian revolutions and communism particularly threatening in the late 1920s and '30s. *Answers might include world-wide depression, recent Russian revolution, Chinese communist movement,* and so on.

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5. Remind students that the Japanese government stopped publication of "The Factory Ship" in 1929, although an abridged version was allowed a few years later. (The complete work was not published until 1948.) Do students agree with the government's decision to censor the work? What might have been the arguments for and against such censorship? Obviously, Takiji disagreed with the decision and continued his leftist activities. Was the government justified in torturing him when he refused to reveal what he knew about the Japanese Communist Party? How do students think Takiji would be viewed in Japan today?

6. If time permits, discuss with students the use of materials written or produced after an event. Clearly, Kobayashi's biography and writings leave no doubt that he was an active protester during his lifetime. But the novel and film *Twenty-four Eyes*, which depicts Japan in the late 1920s and '30s, was not written or produced until the 1950s. Is it possible that non-conformist or dissident behavior occurred during the war years, but was simply not written or talked about? Since excerpts of the novel/film will be used in class, be certain that students are aware of the possibilities and limitations of using this kind of evidence to support a generalization or a point of view.

7. In the remainder of this lesson, students consider the work *Twenty-four Eyes*. If the excerpt from the novel is to be used, assign the reading, Handout 3D, for homework. Questions for discussion are provided at the end of the reading. An answer key is provided on page 127.

If the video *Twenty-four Eyes* is available from a video store, you may choose to show an excerpt rather than assigning the reading in Handout 3D. Show the clip (approximately 95 minutes into the film) corresponding to the reading. This will require advance teacher preparation to locate the clip prior to class. Lead a class discussion focusing on the six questions at the end of Handout 3D. An answer key is provided on page 127. (Note: Although Kobayashi is specifically identified as the "red" in question in the novel, the film does not mention his name; he is referred to as the "red" author.)

8. If time allows, use Handout 3E to summarize the class exploration of non-conformists or dissidents in Japan during the Imperial period. Kurihara Sadako (1913-) is a poet living near Hiroshima, where she was born and survived the dropping of the atomic bomb in 1945. She graduated from a girl's high school and later married a political leftist. Throughout her long life, Kurihara has written in support of some political issues and against others. The poem "What is War?" was written in October 1942 and censored in its entirety by the Japanese government. Later, works by Kurihara were censored by the Occupation Forces.

Discuss the opinions presented in the poem. Then, consider the following questions in class.

- Does a government have the right to censor poetry? Does it matter whether the work is written during times of war?

- Do students see Kurihara as a non-conformist or dissident? What qualifies her? Do they agree with her that in every war there is ugly, demonic intent?

- Are Americans who share Kurihara's views labeled non-conformists or dissidents? What were the consequences for those who spoke out against the Vietnam and Gulf Wars in this country? Was there/should there have been censorship? Interested students should be encouraged to investigate relevant cases.

9. Students may want to write their own poems on the subject of war or dissent during war. If the poems are used for assessment purposes, the class may want to know or decide in advance the criteria for evaluation. For example, should point of view be one of the criteria?

Supplementary Activities:

1. Have interested students view the entire videotape, *Twenty-Four Eyes*, directed and written by Kinoshita Keisuke, based on the novel by Tsuboi Sakae, 1954. This videotape is available for purchase from the Japan Society, Inc., 333 East 47th St., New York, NY, 10017. It may also be available in the foreign film section of larger video stores.

2. Student may read "The Absentee Landlord" and "The Factory Ship," both by Kobayashi Takiji, translated by Frank Motofuji (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1973).

3. To learn more about feminist protest during the period, students may read sections of *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows*, by Hane Mikiso (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

4. To learn more about Christian protest, students may read sections of Ienaga Saburō's *The Pacific War, 1931-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

5. Norma Field's *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991) looks at Japan's relationship to its past, examining the role of dissent in Japanese society. It is well worth reading for a better understanding of the issues surrounding dissent.

6. Read other poems by Kurihara Sadako, in *Black Eggs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japan Studies, 1994).

Additional Resources:

Shūsaku Endō, "From Stained Glass Elegies," in Mordecai Richler, ed., *Writers on World War II: An Anthology*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981.

Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two*. New York: University Press of America, 1986.

Answer Key for Lesson 3

Handout 3D:

1. Why was Mr. Kataoka arrested? What were the authorities looking for? *The authorities were looking for a collection of student writings as evidence that a fellow teacher had communist leanings.*

2. What are the implications of Mrs. Oishi's having a copy of the collection of stories? *She might be labeled "red."*

3. What in Oishi's and the others' behavior might qualify them as dissidents? *Several examples included; refer to the sample textbook lessons.*

4. Who might these teachers represent? *The passive dissidents, or non-conformists, who did not speak out.*

5. How believable is the behavior of the characters in the novel? *Answers will vary based on student opinions.*

6. What about the author's life makes you believe the story or question its believability? *Answers will vary.*

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Sample Textbook Lessons
The Imperial Period

Lessons in Sixth Grade Textbook, 1910

We look up to the Emperor as the Generalissimo. The citizens of this period are all soldiers and should have the intention to be a soldier. In 1882 the Imperial Rescript to the Military was decreed and it is a document we cannot ignore for even a moment.

The five articles [The Military Rescript of 1882] should become part of our everyday living and not be observed for the first time when we become a member of the military.

Lesson in Moral Education Textbooks, 1933-1938, "A Good Japanese"

1. Respect the national anthem:

> Thousands of years of happy reign be thine;
> Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now
> By age united to mighty rocks shall grow
> Whose venerable sides the moss doth line.

2. Follow the example of Crown Prince Yoshihisa, who willingly gave his life in Taiwan for his country; the Emperor Meiji, who continually sacrificed his own personal pleasure for the good of the country; and those honored at the Yasukuni Shrine, who had given their lives from loyalty to the emperor.

3. Work diligently at patriotism and loyalty in times of trouble to the country.

4. Work hard at making inventions useful to the country.

5. Be composed.

Kobayashi Takiji:
A Brief Biography

Note: Some Japanese dissidents just followed a rebellious fashion, and their opposition to mainstream views did not endure. But Kobayashi Takiji was a deeply principled intellectual who lived and wrote as a revolutionary against what he saw as an unequal and immoral society. Because he was so consistent in his views and choices, he provides us with an important example of a Japanese going against the grain, working to change his nation rather than conform. The brief biography below is based on the commentary of Frank Motofuji, translator of Kobayashi's "The Factory Ship" and "The Absentee Landlord."

* * *

Kobayashi Takiji was born in 1903 and lived most of his life on the northernmost Japanese island of Hokkaido, which was then a poor frontier region. Despite living far from the cultural centers of Japan, Takiji (as he was called by his admirers) became the most famous writer of the "proletarian school," a group of intellectuals who dedicated their art and their lives to freeing the lower classes from social injustice. His writings illustrate the pain and futility of life for many Japanese industrial workers and farmers in the early 20th century. He described his characters' misery and society's injustices in clear, vivid language, a quality which won him fans in all parts of Japan.

In 1907, four-year-old Takiji moved with his family to Otaru, a shipping city in Hokkaido with over 90,000 inhabitants. Most of the men in the community worked either in coal mines or on boats, both very dangerous and low-paid occupations. Because of Hokkaido's distance from manufacturing centers, prices were extremely high, and so the poverty-stricken workers and their families suffered from the cold, disease, and lack of nutritious food. Conditions were so terrible that, despite laws against labor unions and socialist groups, by 1918 there were four major strikes in Hokkaido. Union organizing reached its peak in the following year, and the Socialists' Union—which included trade unionists, anarchists, socialists, and communists—became active in 1920 but was quickly banned and scattered by the government. The young Kobayashi thus witnessed first-hand the dreadful lives of poor people and the government's attempts to repress their movements for improvement and solidarity.

Takiji did not immediately become a left-wing writer, however, and spent the years after his 1924 graduation from Otaru Higher Commercial School working in a bank. During those years, many radical organizations were formed in Japan's large cities, under the vigilant eye of the police—the All-Japan Students' Association in 1921 and the Japan Community Party in 1922, followed in 1923 by the Japan Communist Youth Alliance. Though he had a career in a respectable profession, Kobayashi was already writing fiction

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and creating revolutionary art, but he did not take part in demonstrations or movements until 1927.

In that year, at age 24, Takiji produced the posters for a strike by the Otaru dock workers, and soon became a member of the Avant-Garde Artists' Federation. The next year, 1928, the police rounded up many of the left-wing intellectuals and union leaders in Sapporo, Hokkaido's biggest city. Many of Takiji's close friends were jailed. Outraged, Takiji wrote a story, "March 15, 1928," in which he described the arrest and torture of the underground movement's leaders. Both accurate and proactive, the story was published by the All-Japan Proletarian Artists' Federation. Though the magazines in which it appeared were quickly banned, their press run of 8,000 sold out before the government could act.

In that same year, already under suspicion from the secret police, Takiji wrote "The Factory Ship," based on an incident which actually occurred on one of the Hokkaido cannery ships. The story appeared in the same magazine, increased his fame as a revolutionary writer, and was immediately banned, though not before 15,000 copies had been sold. An abridged version appeared a few years later, but the complete work was not published again until 1948.

Strangely enough, Takiji continued to work at the bank in Otaru while he wrote stories like "The Factory Ship" and "The Absentee Landlord," describing the horrors of poor people's lives. Once he became a well-known left-wing writer, however, Takiji was fired from his job in 1929. Some people have wondered why he didn't lose his job sooner, since both the bank and the police knew of his relationship with the illegal unions and underground revolutionary literature. One theory holds that the police wanted him to stay at the bank so they could more easily keep watch on him, rather than forcing him underground.

In 1930, Takiji finally left Hokkaido and went to Tokyo, the center of the government's power but also the center of the left-wing movement. On a lecture trip to Osaka, the now-famous Takiji was arrested, imprisoned, interrogated, and tortured for two weeks—and then released. When he returned to Tokyo, he was arrested again and held for six months. Finally let out of jail, he went underground, moving from place to place to avoid the police. This difficult and stressful life certainly prevented him from finishing many of the stories and articles he began.

Since the police regularly rounded up and arrested leftists, communists, and trade unionists, it was only a matter of time before Takiji again fell into their hands. In 1936, he was trapped and tortured at the police station and jail. When he refused to reveal what he knew about the Japan Communist Party, he was beaten into unconsciousness and died a few hours later in a hospital. He was 33 years old. It was not until 10 years later, after the end of the Pacific War, that Kobayashi Takiji was honored with public ceremonies for his role in producing the realistic, socially-engaged literature of the "proletarian school."

The Factory Ship

by Kobayashi Takiji

Three days after the *Hakko Maru* returned to its old position, the lost trawler suddenly appeared, its crew in surprisingly good spirits. When they left the captain's quarters after reporting to him and came down into the cesspool, they were engulfed by an excited mob. They told how they had drifted helplessly in the furious rainstorm. They could no more defy the elements than a child caught by the scruff of the neck. Their boat had been farthest away from the mother ship, and the wind was against them. The men had resigned themselves to the fact that this might be the end. (The fishermen had by then conditioned themselves to accepting death calmly at any moment.) But miraculously the trawler, half swamped, had washed up the next morning on the shores of Kamchatka, where the men were taken in by some Russians living near the shore.

* * *

It was a family of four. The fishermen, starved for a family atmosphere, for the sight of women and children, were fascinated. The Russians had been kind and went out of their way to make the men comfortable. Even so, the men were at first apprehensive about being among foreigners who spoke a language they did not understand and whose hair and eyes were of a different color. But they soon realized that the Russians were, after all, human beings. When word of the plight of the shipwrecked men, spread a crowd of villagers formed around them. The fishermen had stayed in the village, which was quite far from the Japanese fishing grounds, for two days. After they had rested, they returned to the mother ship. They did not want to return; who in his right mind would to this hell on earth? But there was more to tell. The men began slowly to divulge a number of other interesting bits of news. On the day of their departure, as they were getting ready to leave and stood talking around the stove, four or five men had come into the hut. One was a Chinese. Another of them a slightly stooped man with a large head and a stubble of red beard, began suddenly to orate and gesticulate. Immediately, the head fisherman had waved his hand sideways in front of his face to indicate that they did not understand Russian. Then the Russian paused after a sentence, and the Chinese, who had been watching him, suddenly began to interpret in Japanese. It was such awkward Japanese that it thoroughly confused the listeners as they tried to follow the line of thought. Communication almost foundered as the words came forth, familiar yet strange.

"You people, you must have no money," said the Chinese.

Excerpted from Kobayashi Takiji, "The Factory Ship." Translated by Frank Motofuji. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1973; pp. 28-31. Reprinted with permission.

"That's right," replied the head fisherman.

"You—poor people."

"That's right."

"So you—proletariat. Understand?"

"Yes."

The Russian laughed and then began to pace the floor. After every few steps he stopped in his tracks and looked toward the Japanese. The he said, "The rich—they do this to you." He pantomimed the wringing of a neck. "The rich get fatter." He clasped his outstretched hands in front of him. "But you—you can do nothing. You become poorer. Understand? Japan—hopeless. Workers—like this." He screwed up his face and played a sick man. "But people who don't work are like this. Ahem! Ahem!" He strutted about.

"You're right! That's it!" said the young fishermen, and began to laugh, highly amused.

"Workers—like this. People who don't work—like this." The man did an encore. "Not right. Workers—like this." Now he stuck out his chest and stood proudly. "But people who don't work—like this." He stooped and held a hand out like an old beggar. "The way it should be. Understand? Russia like that. Only people who work. In Russia—only workers. Like this." He strutted about again. "In Russia, no people who don't work. No dishonest people. No one to squeeze us. Understand? Russian not a fearful country. Everyone—everyone tells lies about us."

The fishermen wondered vaguely if this was the terrifying communist propaganda they had been warned against. If so, it was nothing extraordinary, they realized with some surprise. The men were infected by the enthusiasm of the speaker. "We understand. Really. We understand."

Then two other Russians began to shout. The Chinese listened, and when they stopped, began to speak, carefully choosing his words, like a man with a stutter. "Many people get rich without working. Proletariat always like this." He put his hands around his neck. "Hopeless! You proletariat—one, two, three persons, a hundred, a thousand, fifty thousand, one hundred thousand people—all like this." He pantomimed joining hands. "Then we become strong. Nothing to fear." He slapped his arm. "We will not lose. Understand?"

"Yes, yes!"

"People who do not work run away." He ran in place. "Nothing to fear. I speak truth. Working people—proletariat—hold their heads high." He paraded about with great dignity. "Proletariat—they are the most important people. Without proletariat nobody has bread. Everybody die. Understand?"

"Yes, yes!"

"Japan still far from goal. Hopeless! Workers—like this." He crouched and cringed. "People who do not work—like this." He puffed himself up and swung his fist threateningly. "This—all bad! Workers—like this!" With a fierce expression, he stood up as though to take on an adversary. He struck down the imaginary foe and trampled him. "Then people who do not work—like this." Again he ran in place. "Japan will be a good country if it has only workers—a proletarian country. Understand?"

"Yes, we understand."

Suddenly the Russian shouted something in a strange tone of voice and began to jump about as though dancing. "In Japan—you workers will do it." He stood as though resisting something. "In Russia, we are all glad. Banzai! You will return to your ship. On your ship, the men who do not work are like this." He strutted about. "You—proletariat—do this!" He shadow-boxed, clasped his hands, and stood defiantly. "Nothing to worry about. You will win. Understand?"

"We understand!" One young fisherman, unable to suppress his excitement, suddenly grabbed the Chinese by the hand. "We'll do it. I promise you we will!"

The head fisherman was aware all along that this was Red propaganda. What sinister ideas his men were being filled with! With this propaganda plot, Russia could take over all of Japan.

When the Russians finally stopped speaking, the villagers let out a shout and grasped the fishermen's hands. Hugging the men, they pressed their hairy cheeks against the cheeks of the Japanese. The flustered Japanese stiffened and reared back, not knowing how to respond.

The men listening to the story glanced nervously from time to time toward the entrance to the cesspool and begged the fishermen to tell them more. When the stranded fishermen spoke about the Russians they had seen, they listened, fascinated, until a voice interrupted the narrative.

"All right, you, that's enough!" The head fisherman, who had noticed how dangerously curious the men were, gave a shove to the young fisherman who was talking so enthusiastically.

Twenty-four Eyes

by Tsuboi Sakae

Note: Twenty-four Eyes *is a novel and film of the 1950s, but many of its characters represent the spirit and sacrifice typical of the war period. The subject is one familiar to Japan's Fifteen-Year War: the effects the war had on women and children. A small island in the inland sea is the setting of the story that begins in 1928. Ms. Oishi is a new teacher—modern in appearance, but traditional in many respects. The story introduces the viewer not only to her, but also to Ms. Oishi's students, who in many ways will be affected by Japan's militarism in the 1930s and '40s. In the excerpt from* Twenty-four Eyes *reprinted here, Ms. Oishi finds herself involved in a situation in which questions are asked about communism and freedom of thought.*

Tsuboi Sakae (1900-1967), the author of Twenty-Four Eyes, *was born on an island in Japan's inland sea, much like the island that is the setting for* Twenty-four Eyes. *Sakae's novels and children's stories abound in local color and voice her interest in social justice. She married an anarchist poet and was active in the proletarian literature movement in Japan during the 1920s and early '30s. The movement was part of a larger effort by socialist writers to improve the position of the working class.*

* * *

Chapter 6: Crabs and the Moon

It was early in March, a little before the children were moved up to the sixth grade. Spring was just around the corner; yet strangely it was snowing that day. Mrs. Oishi missed the usual bus and had to take a later one. She ran from the bus stop to the school without even putting up her umbrella and entered the faculty room hurriedly. Then something in the atmosphere of the room made her stop short. She looked around at the fifteen teachers, wondering whom she should speak to. They all looked anxious and stiff.

"What's up?" she asked her colleague, Miss Tamura. As if to tell her to hush, Miss Tamura pointed with her chin to the principal's room in the back and whispered, "Mr. Kataoka was taken to the police."

"Oh, no!"

Excerpted from Tsuboi Sakae, *Twenty-four Eyes*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1983; pp. 127-133, 156-161. Reprinted with permission.

Again, Miss Tamura shook her head quickly, cautioning Mrs. Oishi to be quiet. "They're there now." Miss Tamura winked at the principal's room and whispered that they had been searching Mr. Kataoka's desk until just a minute ago. None of the teachers seemed to know what it was all about. They just sat around the brazier silently. When the school bell rang, they went out into the hall, breathing freely again. Mrs. Oishi went into the hall with Miss Tamura and asked her impatiently, "What was the matter?"

"They say he's a 'Red'."

"'Red'? Why?"

"I don't know why."

"Is he a Red? Why?"

"I don't know. Don't ask me."

They had reached Mrs. Oishi's classroom and parted smiling, although it still seemed to them that there was something left to be discussed. The pupils, who apparently did not yet know anything about what had happened, looked more lively than usual, probably because of the snow. Mrs. Oishi tried to concentrate on her class, but the class hour had never seemed so long since she had started teaching five years ago. When she returned to the faculty room after the class, she found the teachers looking relieved.

"The police are gone," said a young bachelor, a graduate of a teachers' college, smiling. He went on to say, "This proves that sincerity never pays."

"What do you mean by that?" asked Mrs. Oishi. "Talk like a teacher." Someone poked her, making her stop talking. It was Miss Tamura.

The vice-principal came in and explained the situation. He said that Mr. Kataoka was only being questioned and would soon be back now that the principal had gone for him. According to him, the key man was not Mr. Kataoka but one Inagawa, a teacher of a primary school in a nearby town, who was said to have inspired his homeroom pupils with pacifism. Mr. Kataoka had been investigated because he had been a classmate of Mr. Inagawa's at teachers' college, but he had been exonerated; that is, the authorities had been unable to find evidence. By "evidence," they meant incriminating literature in the form of a collection of compositions entitled *The Seeds of Grass* written by Mr. Inagawa's sixth grade class. The police had failed to find a copy of it either in Mr. Kataoka's house or in his desk at school.

"Why, I've seen *The Seeds of Grass* myself, but how could that be 'red'?" asked Mrs.

Oishi, puzzled.

The vice-principal smiled. "That only shows sincerity doesn't pay, you see. If the police heard you talk that way, they'd label you 'Red,' too."

"I don't understand that. You know, I liked some compositions in that pamphlet so much I once read them to my class. 'Wheat Harvest' and 'The Chimney of a Soy-sauce Factory' were good ones."

"Watch out, watch out! Did you get the pamphlet from Mr. Inagawa?"

"No, I just read the one that was sent to school."

The vice-principal asked hurriedly, "Where is it now?"

"In my homeroom."

"Get it right away, will you?"

The mimeographed pamphlet was immediately put on the brazier and burned in haste, as though it had been contaminated by plague germs or something. Brownish smoke rose to the ceiling and escaped out of the slightly opened window.

"Oh, maybe I should have handed this to the police instead of burning it. But they might have taken Mrs. Oishi then. Well, anyway we'd better remain loyal and patriotic subjects," said the vice-principal. Mrs. Oishi followed the smoke with her eyes without a word, as though she had not heard him.

The next day, the newspapers reported on Mr. Inagawa's case with eye-catching headlines which read: Red Teacher Spoils Innocent Minds. The local people were taken aback, as if they had been hit on their heads with a hammer. Mr. Inagawa, who was said to have been popular with his pupils, was suddenly degraded to a traitor's position.

"How horrible! We'd better be very conventional now," muttered the second head teacher, an old man. The other teachers did not say what they thought or how they felt. Mrs. Oishi read certain lines in the exaggerated newspaper article over and over again. The lines related how Mr. Inagawa's pupils had each brought an egg from home and had marched in a group to the police station where they insisted that the eggs be given to their teacher in the cold detention room.

Mr. Kataoka, who was back at school today, was deluged with questions, as if he had suddenly become a hero. "How was it?" asked someone. Mr. Kataoka answered, rubbing his cheeks which had become hollow in a day and were blue-black with the traces of his beard: "Awful! It was pure nonsense when I think of it now, but they almost labeled me 'Red.' They said, 'Inagawa says you attended their meetings four or five times.' They also said, 'You must have read Takiji Kobayashi's works.' So I said, 'I don't even know the name.' Then they said, 'Bastard, you must have read about him in the papers just recently.' That reminded me. Do you remember a novelist who died in prison just recently?" (Although actually he was tortured to death, it was reported in the newspaper that he had died of a heart attack.)

"Oh, yes, I remember that. He was a red novelist," answered the young bachelor teacher.

"The police confiscated lots of his books on the proletariat or something or other from Inagawa. He's been fond of reading since his college days," said Mr. Kataoka.

During Japanese class that day, Mrs. Oishi ventured something, because she was certain that her pupils already knew the news about Mr. Inagawa, the editor of *The Seeds of Grass*.

"How many of you take newspapers at home?" she asked.

About one third of the forty-two pupils raised their hands.

"How many of you read them?"

Only two or three hands were raised.

"Does anybody know what 'Red' means?"

No one raised his hand. They looked at one another with expressions of a vague knowledge which they could not explain clearly.

"Does anybody know what 'proletariat' means?"

No one did.

"How about 'capitalists'?"

"I know." One hand was raised. When called upon, the pupil answered, "They are rich people."

"Hmm. . . . Okay. What are workers then?"

"I know."

"I know."

Most of the pupils raised their hands. It was about the only question that from their own experience they could answer confidently. Mrs. Oishi was no different in that respect. If some pupil had asked her answers to the other questions, she would have said, "I don't know very well either." Anyway, the fifth graders were still too young to really understand these things.

Immediately afterwards, Mrs. Oishi was told not to talk about this sort of thing. Someone must have informed the principal of that innocent discussion, for she was called and warned by him. "Please be careful," he said. "We must watch our tongues nowadays, you know."

He did not take any further measures, probably because he favored the daughter of his old friend. But this incident, together with the case of *The Seeds of Grass*, which she had thought harmless, gave the otherwise gay Mrs. Oishi a depressed look, which not only stayed with her but grew even more conspicuous with time.

* * *

Chapter 7: Fledging

Note: At this point in the story, Mrs. Oishi is at home thinking about the impact of Japan's military involvement in China on her students.

Fujiko, another girl from the cape, was the only one whose future course had not yet been determined. It was said that her family's property would finally pass into other hands. Mrs. Oishi suspected that maybe that was the reason why poor Fujiko was unable to determine her course despite her approaching graduation. She felt sorry for the girl who, like Kotoe, was awaiting the future submissively. Fujiko was a thin girl with a pale, sallow face. She always seemed to be shivering, her hands in her sleeves, her dignity barely surviving in her cold, gloomy eyes and in her quietness.

The boys, on the other hand, were quite lively.

"I'm going to high school," Takeichi had once announced proudly.

Tadashi said equally proudly, "I'll take the upper grade school course here. After I graduate, I'll do fishing until I'm drafted. Once I'm drafted, I'll work my way up to be an N.C.O. I'll be a sergeant or something, so you remember that."

"My, an N.C.O.!" Mrs. Oishi exclaimed, but no one detected what was going on in her mind. It seemed strange to her that Tadashi, who had once tried to show the difference between crabs of moonlit nights and those of moonless nights by really bringing live specimens, should have wished to be an N.C.O. But for him there was a good reason. His oldest brother had spent three years of active service in Korea and then, instead of being discharged, he had been sent to the battle front to participate in the Manchurian incident. Recently he had returned home as a corporal. That had stirred up the boy quite a bit.

"If you're determined to be an N.C.O., you can easily go up to the rank of a sergeant, I hear. N.C.O.s get monthly salaries, too." Tadashi spoke for the course of life he had chosen.

Takeichi retorted loudly: "I'm going to be a cadet. You can't beat me. Tanko. I'll be a second lieutenant right away."

Kichiji and Isokichi looked envious. Unlike Takeichi and Tadashi, they belonged to families that lived from hand to mouth. There was no guessing how they might talk with their families about war, and yet it was certain that they would be drafted eventually like the others, whether or not it was their wish. In the previous spring (1933) Japan had withdrawn from the League of Nations, cutting herself off from international society. But what significance it had, and also in what way it was related to the imprisonment of a teacher of a nearby school, were utterly unknown to the boys. They did not even know that they were deprived of the freedom to be informed of all these things. On the contrary, the warlike atmosphere that had spread all over the country had influenced them so much that they were dreaming of becoming patriotic heroes.

"Why do you want to be a soldier so much?" Mrs. Oishi asked Tadashi. His answer was frank: "Because I'm not the heir. Besides, it's much better to be an N.C.O. than to be a fisherman."

"Hm. . . . And you, Takeichi?"

"I'm the heir, but I'd rather be a military man than a rice dealer, too."

"I see. But I wonder. You'd better think it over anyway." She felt restrained from speaking further and had looked at the boys without another word.

Tadashi, apparently having sensed something, asked, "Don't you like soldiers?"

"No, I like fishermen and rice dealers better."

"Do you? Why?"

"You're still too young to die, you know."

"What a scaredy cat!"

"Yes, that's what I am."

Even now she felt depressed, as she recalled how the vice-principal had warned her just because she had talked that much with the boys. "Mrs. Oishi," he had said. "You're spoken of as a Red. You'd better watch out."

"What in the world is a Red? Why do they call me a Red when I don't know anything about Communism?"

Mrs. Oishi, who was lying in bed, thinking about various things, called to her mother in the dining room. "Mother!"

"Yes?" answered her mother through the sliding doors. She did not come in but remained sitting by the brazier, busying herself with sewing.

"I've got something to talk over with you. Will you come here?"

The daughter heard footsteps and then saw the sliding door opened by a hand wearing a thimble. "I'm awfully sick of teaching. What would you say to my quitting this coming March?"

"Quitting? How come?"

"Opening a cheap candy store or something would be better than teaching. I'm sick of jingoistic school education."

"Hush!"

"Why on earth did you make me into a teacher?"

"Are you blaming it on me? Wasn't it your own choice? You said you didn't want to be as miserable as I, didn't you? It's really no fun sewing kimonos for other people at this age."

"You're better off than I, though. Look at me. I've been teaching my pupils from the first grade on, but now more than one half of the boys want to be soldiers. What's the sense of teaching, I wonder?"

"They're just swimming with the current, you know. You can't end the war by becoming a candy dealer, can you?"

"Oh, I'm sick and tired of the whole business. What's worse, I was senseless enough to marry a sailor. I should have learned a lesson from your past. These air drills these days really take ten years off my life. Even if the ocean is calm, just one bomb hitting my husband's ship could make a widow out of me. I wonder if I should tell him so and ask him to change his job before it's too late. I don't mind helping him do farming or anything else. I'm going to have a baby, and I don't want my child to be fatherless as I was. You wouldn't object to his quitting, would you?"

"You blame everything on me, don't you? Didn't you choose your own husband? I was the one who wanted to object that time. I thought it would be awful if you had to repeat my life. But I accepted whatever you said because you were fond of him. Now it's too late to talk that way."

"I didn't love him because he was a sailor. Anyway, I don't want to teach any more."

"Do as you please. Your nerves are on edge now, I know."

"No, they aren't."

Mrs. Oishi talked quite differently from the way she did at school. But behind her capricious way of talking was her great love of human life.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why was Mr. Kataoka arrested? What were the authorities looking for?
2. What are the implications of Mrs. Oishi's having a copy of the collection of stories?
3. What in Oishi's and the others' behavior might qualify them as dissidents?
4. Who might these teachers represent?
5. How believable is the behavior of the characters in the novel?
6. What about the author's life makes you believe the story or question its believability?

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What is War?

by Kurihara Sadako

I do not accept war's cruelty.
In every war, no matter how beautifully dressed up,
I detect ugly, demonic intent.
And I abhor those blackhearted people
who, not involved directly themselves,
constantly glorify war and fan its flames.
What is it that takes place
when people say "holy war," "just war?"
Murder. Arson. Rape. Theft.
The women who can't flee take off their skirts
before enemy troops
and beg for mercy—do they not?
In fields where the grain rustles in the breeze,
sex-starved soldiers chase the women,
like demons on the loose.
At home they are good fathers, good brothers, good sons,
but in the hell of battle,
they lose all humanity
and rampage like wild beasts.

Reprinted from *Black Eggs*, Poems by Kurihara Sadako, translated with an introduction and notes by Richard H. Minear (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1994), p. 53, by permission of the publisher. Copyright 1994, Center for Japan Studies, University of Michigan.

4 The Social and Cultural Scene

Introduction: Through the first three lessons of this unit, students have focused on attitudes and policies related to Japan's military expansion and foreign policy during the period 1905-1945. Although Japan was involved in four major wars during the first half of the 20th century, not all life revolved around war or Japan's relations with other nations and peoples. As Japan became a modern, industrial power, society and culture changed rapidly in ways that left many people confused about who they were, about what their traditions really meant, and what it meant to be "modern" as well as "Japanese." As in many societies undergoing transformation, these changes produced conflict around issues such as Westernization—how "Western" could Japanese people or culture become and still retain some Japanese identity? Like all non-Western societies, Japan had to cope with the conflicts generated by modernity—can an individual, a city, or a country be both modern and Japanese at the same time? As we see in our own culture today, such problems can be very emotional and divisive, sometimes even leading to violent confrontations.

In this final lesson, students use the art and literature of Japan's Imperial period to explore domestic issues of importance to Japanese society. They consider such questions as: How do industrialization and other aspects of modernization change the lives of women, seen in many cultures to be the foundation of tradition? Should Japan be represented by its "traditions" (re-created in modern times) or by its modern, urban, industrial reality? On the level of individuals, how "Western" or "modern" a life should one choose to live? And finally, what is the relationship between the artist, the art she or he creates, and the government? Why might the Japanese government find modern art dangerous or immoral and want to control it? In such an environment, what can an artist do? All of these questions contain elements specific to Japan in the Imperial period. Yet these questions also arise in many other places and times as well, so students learn to distinguish "culture-specific" and "universal" elements in social conflict.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Use humanities resources (novels, essays, art) to identify domestic issues, movements, and conflicts that characterized Japanese society during the Imperial period.

2. Work in small groups to role play the parts of individuals or groups taking positions on these issues.

3. Develop working hypotheses or reasons for the conflicts and ways that they might have been resolved.

4. Determine whether the conflicts are universal—crossing national and cultural

boundaries—or culture-specific to early 20th century Japan.

Time required: 3 class periods plus homework

Materials: Copies of Handouts 4A through 4K; Handout 4L (optional); Slides 4A through 4F (Slide 4D is optional); slide projector

Procedure:

1. To introduce the lesson, ask the class to brainstorm a list of conflicts that exist between or among individuals or groups in our society. Encourage students to think as broadly as our national society or as narrowly as their own school environment. You might initiate the brainstorm by suggesting that students think of issues that arise between the school administration and students.

Compile a list of the various conflicts that students identified. *Many issues will be so general that they transcend time (religious, ethnic, racial, gender, age, rural-urban, modern-traditional, gang, family, class, etc.). Others may be specific to subcultures or groups (language, family traditions, music preferences, etc.).*

2. Explain that in this activity, students will look at art and literature that reflect some of the significant social issues and conflicts that characterized Japanese society during the first half of the 20th century. Students will use the characters and subjects of the works they study to create role plays reflecting these issues.

Project on a screen Slide 4A, *The Man Whose Machine Sank the Petropavlosk*. Explain that this woodblock print pictures Captain Oda, the inventor of the mine that destroyed the Russian ship Petropavlosk during the Russo-Japanese War, and his family at home. It was reproduced in the English publication *Japan's Fight for Freedom*, April 13, 1904. The publication came out every two weeks in London during the entire course of the Russo-Japanese War. This print helps us focus on the question of how Japan presented itself to the rest of the world—particularly Europe and the United States—during the early years of the Imperial period.

Project on a wall and/or distribute copies of Handout 4K, the Analysis Sheet. Following the steps bulleted, spend 10-15 minutes analyzing the print with the class. Additional issues to consider might include: What in the picture reflects traditional Japan? A Westernized Japan? What message might the portrait convey to a Japanese audience? To a Western audience? What conflicts or tensions are evident in the picture?

3. Using Handout 4K as a guide, students should begin working in small groups to consider other social issues and conflicts of the period, as reflected in works of art and literature. Divide the class into five groups, providing each group with one of the handouts, 4A through 4E. Allow time for students to read the materials individually, as well as time to work together in groups. Within their groups, students should follow the directions for each handout when filling in the Analysis Sheet. Note that several of the groups will also need

access to particular slides, which are noted on the handouts.

If the schedule allows additional time for this lesson, consider having the entire class read all the materials. This would give students more background and provide them with more insights into the period.

4. During the next class period, discuss student findings in class, using the answer key on pages 157-160 to guide discussion.

5. As a culminating activity, ask students to create role plays based on the characters, subjects, and issues presented in the art and/or literature they have analyzed. Distribute to each group the Role Play Guidelines handouts that corresponds with their original study assignment (Handouts 4F through 4J). Each handout provides guidelines and characters for creating a role play centering on the issues and/or conflicts in early 20th century Japanese society, as presented in one of the works of art or literature.

If there are more students than role-play assignments, assign narrators to each group. The narrators should be responsible for recording the different points of view and reporting them to the class as introduction and summation. If time allows, the narrators should also moderate a discussion of the issues involved. Otherwise, the actors themselves should perform these duties.

Allow the remainder of the class period for students to develop their role plays. Remind students that although many of the underlying issues and conflicts are contemporary, the characters in the role play are not. Students should take this fact into consideration when planning their role plays.

6. At the beginning of the next class period, give students an opportunity to re-group and prepare for their presentations. Each group should take several minutes to perform for the class, with the narrators (if used) responsible for introducing the role play and moderating a discussion of the role-play issues once it is concluded.

7. Allow time at the end of class for a summation of the conflicts and tensions that are reflected in the readings used in this lesson. Remind students that these are by no means the only conflicts, but that they represent some of the issues that were important to Japanese society, and particular groups within that society, during Japan's Imperial period.

Following is a sample summary of the more obvious conflicts revealed in this lesson and the handouts that reflect these conflicts. Note that students may find additional conflicts and examples that overlap. Put the readings on the board and ask students to list examples underneath.

A. Conflicts involving the image of Japan, e.g., how Japan presented itself to the rest of the world during this period

Handout 4B and Slides 4B and 4C—pictures of Ise Shrine and Imperial Hotel—reflect

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these conflicts. This activity represents a dilemma common to many nations in the 19th and early 20th century. Should people take pride in their most modern and perhaps international accomplishments—or in the traditional? While there is no right answer, students should consider the consequences of any decision. Do we face similar choices today?

B. Conflicts involving lifestyle

Handouts 4A, 4C, and 4D and Slide 4D reflect these conflicts.

Handout 4A, excerpts from The River Ki*: Although the novel was written by a modern Japanese author, it takes place during the Imperial period. Three conflicts in Hana's and Fumio's lives involve lifestyle: middle school, college, and marriage. Are these issues period-specific or can they occur during any time period? Are they peculiar to Japan? Can students identify with some (if not all) of them?*

Handout 4C, "In Praise of Shadows": Tanizaki is faced with making decisions about such mundane matters as lighting and fixtures in his new house. He is torn between the old and the new. How should he decide? How do contemporary Japanese and Americans decide? (Students might be interested in the episode described by the translator of the essay, as described in the answer key on page 158.)

Handout 4D and Slide 4D (optional), Chūō kōron*: The illustration defends tradition and criticizes modern ways, presenting a dilemma for women of the time. What is the message for women? For men? How should a woman of the time conduct herself? Does this question arise only in Japan? Only in the Imperial period? What might be the consequences for women who decide to choose one route or the other? Are there parallels in our culture today?*

C. Conflicts involving freedom of expression

Handouts 4A, 4D, and 4E and slides 4E and 4F reflect these conflicts.

Handout 4E and slides 4E and 4F, Oyasumi Nasai *and* Portrait of Hagiwara Sakutaro*: Both pieces are the work of one artist (printed within a few years of one and other), yet they portray very different subjects. Why might a government at war not allow an artist to exhibit work such as* Oyasumi Nasai*? Why might an artist stop printing abstract art only to resume printing abstractions following the end of Japan's Pacific War? Why might* Portrait of Hagiwara Sakutaro *be ignored by a government at war, whereas* Oyasumi Nasai *would have met with objection or censorship?*

8. Student performance during class discussion and role play activities provides opportunities for assessment. However, if more than three days are spent on the lesson, the following exercises may provide additional assessment opportunities.

A. A 10-point quiz may determine whether students have learned a few facts about Japan's art and literature during the Imperial period. Suggested questions are provided on optional Handout 4L. An answer key is provided on page 160.

B. Invite students to select a situation from their lives—or from the lives of people they know—that represents tensions or conflicts comparable to those portrayed in the brief excerpts in this lesson. Using Handout 4K, the analysis sheet, as a guide, students should describe one situation in detail.

Supplementary Activities:

1. Most high school American history and world history textbooks contain accounts of President Theodore Roosevelt's role in the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the Russo-Japanese War. It might be interesting for students to read a report of the Russo-Japanese War and treaty negotiations from an American point of view. They might also look at the Taft-Katsura Agreement in 1905 and the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908 for insight into developments in the Pacific.

2. Some of the source materials included in this lesson are excerpts from Japanese literature. Students may want to continue reading, for example, *The River Ki* by Ariyoshi Sawako, which is available in paperback from Kodansha Publishing Company. *The Makioka Sisters* is a popular novel by Tanizaki Junichirō, the author of "In Praise of Shadows" (Handout 4C of this lesson). In this novel, Tanizaki describes the decline of a proud and once-prosperous Japanese family. As an elegy to a bygone era, the novel is an excellent one for understanding the social trends and moods of Japanese culture in the 1930s. The novel was serialized in 1943, but publication was interrupted by the military authorities. Tanizaki completed it in 1948; it was later translated into English.

3. Chapters 9 and 10 in *Women in Japan: From Ancient Times to the Present* by Marjorie Wall Bingham and Susan Hill Gross (St. Louis Park, Minnesota: Glenhurst Publications, Inc., 1987) offer several lessons on Japanese women during the Imperial period.

Additional Resources:

Ariyoshi Sawako, *The Doctor's Wife*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981.

Richard H. Minear, *Through Japanese Eyes*. New York: The Apex Press, 1994.

Tanizaki Junichirō, *The Makioka Sisters*. New York: Putnam, 1981.

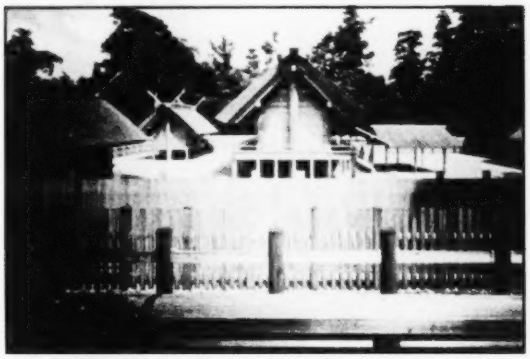
Yamazaki Masakazu, "The Intellectual Community of the Shōwa Era," in *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 119* (3), Summer 1990.

Slides for Lesson 4

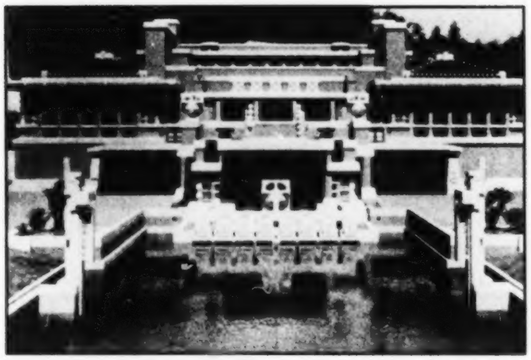
Slide 4A: "The Man Whose Machine Sank the Petropavlosk." Captain Oda was the inventor of the mine that destroyed a Russian ship in a critical battle in the Russo-Japanese War.

This portrait of Captain Oda and his family appeared in Japan's Fight for Freedom, *April 13, 1904.*

Slide 4B: The Ise Shrine. Said to date from the 3rd century.



Slide 4C: The Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, 1923. Main entrance hall and lobby.



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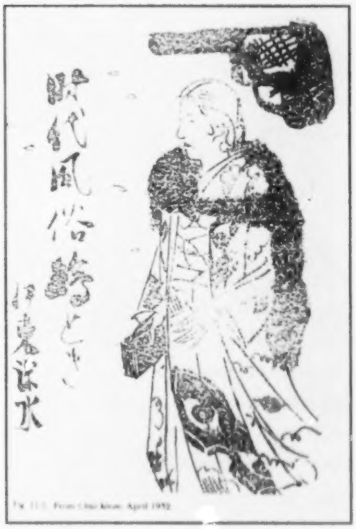
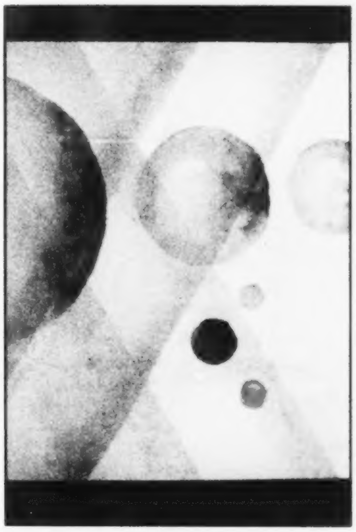
Slide 4D: "Modern Traditions." From *Chūō kōron*, April 1932.



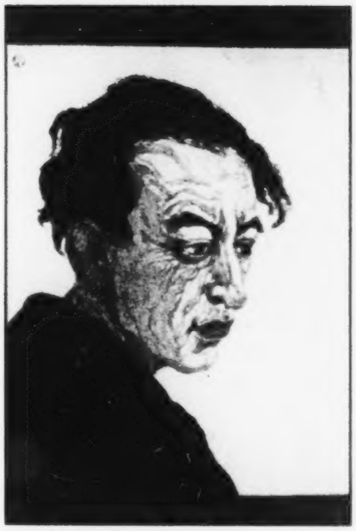
Courtesy, University of California Press.

Slide 4E: "Oyasumi Nasai" by Onchi Koshiro. Part of his series *Lyrics on Musical Compositions*.



Gift of Louis A. Lebowich
Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Slide 4F: "Portrait of Hagiwara Sakutaro, by Onchi Koshiro, 1943.



Woodblock print. From the Honolulu Academy of Arts Library, Gift of James A. Michener.

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Answer Keys for Lesson 4

Handout 4K:

All of the handouts (4A through 4E) used to complete the Handout 4K Analysis Sheet represent issues important to *some* Japanese during the Imperial period (1905-1945). The handouts present students with insights into the complexity and diversity of Japanese society during the period. While not all Japanese were concerned with any one—let alone all—of these issues, the handouts reveal some commonalities and differences among peoples in Japan and the world.

***The River Ki* (Handout 4A)**

Settings: *In the village on the way to school, in the home of Fumio's uncle, in Fumio's college room in Tokyo, in Hana's home, in Fumio's new home, and in the mother's home. Characters: Hana, the mother, and Fumio, the daughter. Others, such as villagers and observers, are also involved.*

Conflict: *What is appropriate dress for school, for college? How should the eldest daughter of an influential family act? What is a woman's place in the home, in society? What is the woman's role in marriage? What are the various tensions in the lives of two women? Does war influence how women behave or ought to behave?*

Reasons for conflict: *The expectations of women in a changing society; urban and rural, generational issues; issues surrounding war.*

Possible resolution: *Time? Similarity of circumstance? Conformity? Rebellion?*

Culture-specific or universal? *Evidence of both. Certainly the urban-rural, older-younger generation, mother-daughter conflicts are universal. But some of the expectations may be specific to Japan during the time period, such as school dress and war-time behavior.*

Ise Shrine and Imperial Hotel (Handout 4B and Slides 4B and 4C)

Settings: *Located in Mie Prefecture, Ise Shrine is in a natural setting surrounded by forests. The Imperial Hotel referred to here was in downtown Tokyo. (The handout gives descriptions of the "character" of each.) Characters: Japanese members of a welcoming committee.*

Conflict: *The committee must choose between taking foreign guests to the shrine or hotel. The conflict is between traditional and modern Japan, between national and international images.*

Reasons for conflict: *There is time for only one visit, which forces the group to choose between that which represents traditional and nationalistic Japan (Shinto is the state religion) and international Japan represented by a new hotel designed by an internationally known*

American architect.

Possible resolution: *A choice must be made. This is a hypothetical situation; there is no "model" decision. The times (1920s and '30s) may make a big difference.*

Culture-specific or universal? *Other governments and individuals entertaining foreign guests must constantly decide what aspects of their country to exhibit, those which are historical and traditional or those which represent modern trends.*

"In Praise of Shadows" (Handout 4C)

Setting: *Japan in transition, a new home. The main character is Tanizaki, author of numerous essays and novels, who is in conflict with himself. According to Tanizaki's wife, her late husband frequently built new homes.*

Conflict: *One of aesthetics and personal taste and convenience: whether to build a traditional or a modern house; whether to install traditional or modern fixtures, etc.*

Reasons for conflict: *The essay was written at a time (1930s) when many Western ideas were introduced that, some would argue, threatened Japanese national identity.*

Possible resolution: *Continue the traditional? Succumb to the modern? The reader suspects that Tanizaki decides in favor of tradition. In the afterward of the essay, however, Thomas J. Harper, one of the translators, writes, "Mrs. Tanizaki tells a story of when her late husband decided, as he frequently did, to build a new house. The architect arrived and announced with pride, 'I've read your* In Praise of Shadows, *Mr. Tanizaki, and I know exactly what you want.' To which Tanizaki replied, 'But no, I could never* live *in a house like that.' There is perhaps as much resignation as humor in his answer."*[1] *In other circumstances, however, Tanizaki refused to compromise traditional aesthetics for a modern lifestyle.*

Culture-specific or universal: *Both. It is culture-specific in as much as Japan during this period was increasingly nationalistic, yet it is and has been an issue in other cultures, at other times.*

"The Modern Girl as Militant" (Handout 4D)

Setting: *Urban Japan in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s. The characters include an imaginary young woman, labeled* moga *(or Modern Girl), the media who portray her as a threat to tradition (see Slide 4D), and the Japanese government attempting to establish authority over the people.*

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[1] Thomas J. Harper, translator, "In Praise of Shadows" by Tanizaki Junichirō. Branford, CT: Leete's Island Books, 1977, p. 48.

Conflict: *Between the Modern Girl and the government, with the media (in this case) representing the government's point of view.*

Reasons for conflict: *The Modern Girl is a problem for the Japanese government because she represents a threat to tradition and to the Good Wife, Wise Mother role expected of women during the Meiji period.*

Possible resolution: *What choices did the moga have? Laws were passed forbidding women to exhibit behavior associated with modernity. By the mid to late '30s, she had little choice but to conform, unless she was prepared to face the consequences.*

Culture-specific or universal. *Both. It is culture-specific in as much as Japan was extremely nationalistic during this period. Similar conflicts are not unheard of in many places in today's world, however.*

Two Works by Onchi Koshiro, *Oyasumi Nasai* and *Portrait of Hagiwara Sakutaro* (Handout 4E and Slides 4E and 4F)

Setting: *Japan in the 1930s and '40s. The characters are the artist, Onchi Koshiro and the Japanese government.*

Conflict: *Between the artist and the government. By 1940, the government had passed laws banning certain types of art and disbanding associations of Western-style painters. The abstract art created by Onchi in the early '30s was not acceptable during the war years.*

Reasons for conflict: *War.*

Possible resolution: *What choices did the artist have? Go underground? Conform? Discontinue his work? Rebel? (In fact, Onchi stopped making abstract art, continuing only after the end of Japan's Pacific War. Although he switched to portrait painting, it is not clear that in doing so he was not protesting.)*

Culture-specific or universal: *Both. It is culture-specific in as much as Japan was at war and passed specific laws banning types of art and activities. Similar conflicts are not unusual in other cultures. How does government control art in this country?*

Note: Students may not immediately "take" to Onchi's art work. Allow them **not** to understand the Onchi prints, to find them confusing or even meaningless, if that is what they really think. But once they express their reactions, ask whether the fact that some students find them confusing or meaningless means that the government should ban them. Why did the Japanese government find such works dangerous? Use the discussion to consider the relationship between the state and culture, the differences between the United States (where, during the McCarthy era, artists were blacklisted and today some politicians want to stop funding the National Endowment for the Arts because they don't like the art it supports) and Imperial Japan (where Kobayashi was tortured and murdered for writing left-wing literature and supporting strikes). How distant are the two societies? What do students think about censorship, book-banning, and conformity in thought?

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Handout 4L:

The Social and Cultural Scene: A Quiz

Name or define:

1. Japan's most sacred shrine, located in Mie prefecture, that houses many symbols of the Shinto religion. *Ise*

2. The American who was strongly influenced by Japanese architecture and who designed the Imperial Hotel in downtown Tokyo. *Frank Lloyd Wright*

3. The "cultural transgressor" as used in the lesson. *the Modern Girl*

4. One of two building materials that conflicted with one another in the essay "In Praise of Shadows." *tile/ceramic or wood*

5. Japan's largest plain, located on the Pacific seaboard of Honshū, the main island. *Kantō*

6. The term used when governments (or other authorized sources) remove or suppress that which is considered morally or otherwise objectionable. *censorship*

7. The country that won the most battles in the Russo-Japanese War. *Japan*

8. The name of a famous Japanese author whose novel *The Makioka Sisters* and essay "In Praise of Shadows" define some of the tensions in Japanese society in the 1930s. *Tanizaki*

9. A slogan representing the ideal woman during the Meiji period in Japan. *Good Wife, Wise Mother*

10. The name of a river in the title of a novel by Ariyoshi Sawako that features mother-daughter relationships over the period of years in the first half of this century. *Ki*

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The River Ki

by Ariyoshi Sawako

Note: Ariyoshi Sawako (1931-1984), who majored in English literature at Tokyo Women's Christian University, was one of Japan's most popular modern writers. Her works often focus on social issues, such as those involving the elderly, pollution, family relationships in Japan, and segregation in the United States. She was both a novelist and playwright. In 1981, literary critic Donald Richie described Ariyoshi as "a perceptive observer whose interest is not in social problems themselves but in the people experiencing them." The excerpts below depict tensions in a fictional Japanese family during the Imperial period.

* * *

This scene takes place near the family's home in Wakayama City.

The girl had her head covered with a long white woolen shawl twisted loosely around her neck, one end falling forward and the other trailing in the wind. Her green cashmere hakama[1] skirt appeared somewhat strange; two white stripes ran around the hemline. Over a dress of handwoven striped cotton, she was wearing a silk haori.[2] Her stockinged feet were visible under the short hakama. It was clear to see that she was a student at Wakayama Girls' School. No one could help but stare on seeing her for the first time, striding boyishly across the bridge. Dressed as she was, however, Fumio would not have startled anyone living in this area. The eldest Matani daughter had been an attraction in the village for years. After entering the Girls' School, she, together with her father, had become increasingly famous.

"That's the eldest daughter," whispered the villagers. Sometimes they were critical of the girl, at other times they could do little else but express their bewilderment.

Fumio did not care what people said about her. In fact, she reveled in making people frown. This had certainly been true when she had protested against the practice of wearing maroon hakamas. A classmate, imitating the members of the famous Takarazuka All-Girls'

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[1] loose trousers tied at the waist and worn with a kimono as part of formal dress

[2] a traditional jacket worn over a kimono

From *The River Ki* by Sawako Ariyoshi, published by Kodansha International, Ltd. Copyright 1980 by Kodansha International, Ltd. Reprinted by permission. All rights reserved.

Revue, had once worn a green hakama to school only to be severely reprimanded by the teachers. Fumio had rebelled against the teachers, arguing that, "Nowhere in the school regulations does it say that we have to wear maroon hakamas." She then encouraged her classmates to join her in wearing green hakamas. At this very moment, there was further proof of her rebelliousness. Dangling from the white trimming of her bright green hakama, which she had been wearing for the past year oblivious to all opposition, were twenty Kewpie dolls, each one over an inch tall. She would probably have maintained that, "Nowhere in the school regulations does it say that we cannot wear Kewpie dolls." With typical audacity, Fumio had begun this new protest after a classmate had been reprimanded for pinning fashionable trinkets onto the trimming of her hakama.

Fumio strode on, unconcerned by the dust gathering on her black shoes and mercilessly kicking the hem of her hakama with each step she took. The little Kewpie dolls danced merrily about and rolled their eyes as she crossed Musota Bridge. Under the bridge the blue waters of the River Ki flowed gently as in years gone by. . . .

* * *

Note: Fumio and her uncle discuss Fumio's mother, Hana, shortly before Fumio leaves Wakayama City for Tokyo.

"The Women's Rights Society was established more than ten years ago and women are now conscious of their inferior social position. It's intolerable that Mother hasn't changed at all. I can hardly wait to get away from the stifling atmosphere at home. I'm not particularly fired with the idea of becoming an activist for women's rights, but I'll never be old-fashioned like Mother." . . .

* * *

Note: By this point in the story, Hana has made her way to Tokyo to visit Fumio at school.

Fumio, who remained in Tokyo even during the summer vacation, worked together with other students to produce a coterie magazine and was completely absorbed in writing articles. The words "women's rights" appeared frequently in her essays. A few short stories were included in the journal, but it consisted mainly of critical essays. All of Fumio's articles expressed her feelings of indignation toward a society dominated by men. In her essays, written in a very involved literary style, she vehemently attacked "members of the same sex who allow men to oppress them." Her articles, which were bitter attacks on the apathy of Japanese women, described actual examples taken from society.

The Muraki-ya in Tameike had fortunately escaped being destroyed by the fire that followed the earthquake. The guests staying there were, without exception, respectable people. In keeping with its guests, the inn itself—from the stepping stone at the entrance to the fine quality wood of the corridors—was well constructed. The place was immaculately clean, having been wiped and dusted from corner to corner. However, Fumio's room was in a state of complete disorder. And it was so filthy Hana could hardly believe it was a room in the Murakis' inn. Hana sighed and set down ***Women's Rights***. She saw at a glance that the money for lessons in tea ceremony and flower arrangement—which Fumio had promised to continue—had been pocketed. The elegant writing table which Hana had personally selected for Fumio looked as though it had not been dusted for months. A cottonlike layer, far thicker than ordinary dust, covered the table, on which were stacked several English-language dictionaries. Scattered about the room were such magazines as *The Rehabilitation of Women*, *Japanese Women*, and *Women's Opinions*.

Fumio was not in the habit of reading or writing at her elegant writing table. Instead, she used as her desk a board balanced on two tangerine crates. Even now she was seated at this makeshift desk. Placing her hands on her lap, she declared:

"Mother, I think you'll understand me better after you read those magazines. I'm leading a full life as a student, you know."

Fumio was brimming with self-confidence. The expensive formal kimono she had slung over her shoulders was torn at the shoulder and lap. Hana could not imagine how her daughter had managed to tear her kimono in such unlikely places.

Hana was not one to nag. She remained silent and promptly set to work putting the room in order.

* * *

Note: In this excerpt, Hana eagerly opens the first letter from Fumio since her wedding.

Fumio's letter, which began with a masculine salutation, attacked Hana as before.

> I have married a mere bank employee, but his future is bright. He and I will not be shackled to the past, since he is not from a distinguished family with an impressive name and farmlands handed down from generation to generation. Our motto is "a modern life-style." Therefore, I am returning the many useless items included in my dowry.

Was it necessary for Fumio to be so blunt and cruel? She might have said that since some of the things in her dowry were not needed and would be in the way in their tiny new home, she was sorry but she was returning them. There was a world of difference in the two statements, even though they meant the same thing. Fumio added that she was sending

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the things to Musota; and, the day before, Mr. Matsui had notified Hana of their arrival.

* * *

Note: Together in Fumio's house in Tokyo, the conversation between Hana and Fumio is influenced by the recently announced declaration of war on America.

"You're so old-fashioned, Mother. Don't you realize that a state of emergency exists throughout the entire world? The institution of the family is about to be totally abolished."

Dressed in trousers that had been Eiji's (Fumio's husband) golf knickerbockers, Fumio was on duty as a member of the Neighborhood Association. She held in her hand some circulars on the assignment of soldiers' comfort kits and on air raid drills and appeared to be in a highly agitated emotional state. She had once been a staunch liberal. However, with the outbreak of war she had been completely transformed into a brave woman supporting fully the Japanese cause. But Eiji had spent many years abroad and was very pessimistic about the war.

"Everyone talks about the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, but the countries under Japanese military control have been thrown into utter confusion, Mother. If we were honest, we would call it the Greater East Asian Co-poverty Sphere."

"These are terrible times indeed. I'm afraid one thing simply led to another."

"But the war will soon be over."

"What makes you say that?"

"I'd be called a traitor if I said this outside the house, but I know Japan will be defeated in the end."

Handout 4B
Page 1 of 1

Two Architectural Sites

Note: Use this reading in conjunction with Slides 4B and 4C.

The Grand Ise Shrine (Slide 4B)

The Ise Shrine, located in Ise Shima National Park, is one of Japan's most sacred Shinto shrines, a place of historical as well as religious importance. From the 7th century, the shrine has been rebuilt in precisely the same manner and style every twenty years. It is always old and always new. Using cypress and only pure natural materials, the shrine, with its unpainted wood, thatched roofs, and clean lines has fascinated world architects as the embodiment of classic Japanese style and Shinto ideals of harmony between man and nature. The Inner Shrine, dating from the 3rd century, is dedicated to Amaterasu Omikami, the mythical ancestor of the continuing Imperial Family. It was built to house the mirror, one of the three sacred treasures Amaterasu bestowed upon the first Emperor, Jimmu, who is said to have pacified the land in obedience to the will of the gods.

The Imperial Hotel (Slide 4C)

Tokyo in the early 20th century was not far behind Paris or London in experimenting with the latest styles and techniques in architecture. In 1914, a visiting Imperial Commission from Japan invited Frank Lloyd Wright to design a great hotel for Tokyo. This landmark, designed and built by the American architect between 1916 and 1923, survived the widespread devastation of the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, which leveled much of the city and killed nearly 150,000 people. The hotel was visited by innumerable foreign dignitaries and was one of the most renowned hotels in the world. During the Occupation it housed members of the U.S. Army. The hotel was dismantled in the 1960s in order to clear the site for a new high-rise hotel by the same name. The original entrance hall and lobby stand in Meiji-Mura, an open-air museum of buildings and artifacts of Meiji and modern Japan.

In Praise of Shadows

by Tanizaki Junichirō

Note: Tanizaki Junichirō (1886-1965) was a novelist of the romantic school of Japanese literature. His career spanned more than 50 years and was as diverse as it was long. Born in Tokyo, he moved after the earthquake of 1923 to the more traditional Kansai area (near Osaka), where he became increasingly involved with historic Japanese culture. Perhaps more than any other writer of the period, Tanizaki carried on the classical literary traditions of Japan. His 1933 essay "In Praise of Shadows" (parts of which are excerpted below) reveals Tanizaki's deep interest in the traditional culture of Japan.

* * *

Having done passably well with the heating system, I was then faced with the problem of bath and toilet. My Kairakuen friend could not bear to tile the tub and bathing area, and so built his guest bath entirely of wood. Tile, of course, is infinitely more practical and economical. But when ceiling, pillars, and paneling are of fine Japanese stock, the beauty of the room is utterly destroyed when the rest is done in sparkling tile. The effect may not seem so very displeasing while everything is still new, but as the years pass, and the beauty of the grain begins to emerge on the planks and pillars, that glittering expanse of white tile comes to seem as incongruous as the proverbial bamboo grafted to wood. Still, in the bath utility can to some extent be sacrificed to good taste. In the toilet somewhat more vexatious problems arise.

Every time I am shown to an old, dimly lit, and, I would add, impeccably clean toilet in a Nara or Kyoto temple, I am impressed with the singular virtues of Japanese architecture. The parlor may have its charms, but the Japanese toilet truly is a place of spiritual repose. It always stands apart from the main building, at the end of a corridor, in a grove fragrant with leaves and moss. No words can describe that sensation as one sits in the dim light, basking in the faint glow reflected from the shoji,[1] lost in meditation or gazing out at the garden. The novelist Natsume Sōseki counted his morning trips to the toilet a great pleasure, "a physiological delight" he called it. And surely there could be no better place to savor this pleasure than a Japanese toilet where, surrounded by tranquil walls and finely grained wood, one looks out upon blue skies and green leaves.

As I have said, there are certain prerequisites: a degree of dimness, absolute

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[1] a sliding screen used to divide rooms

Excerpted from Tanizaki Junichirō, "In Praise of Shadows." Branford, CT: Leete's Island Books, 1977.

cleanliness, and quiet so complete one can hear the hum of a mosquito. I love to listen from such a toilet to the sound of softly falling rain, especially if it is a toilet of the Kantō region, with its long, narrow windows at floor level; there one can listen with such a sense of intimacy to the raindrops falling from the eaves and the trees, seeping into the earth as they wash over the base of a stone lantern and freshen the moss about the stepping stones. And the toilet is the perfect place to listen to the chirping of insects or the song of the birds, to view the moon, or to enjoy any of those poignant moments that mark the change of the seasons. Here, I suspect, is where haiku poets over the ages have come by a great many of their ideas. Indeed one could with some justice claim that of all the elements of Japanese architecture, the toilet is the most aesthetic. Our forebears, making poetry of everything in their lives, transformed what by rights should be the most unsanitary room in the house into a place of unsurpassed elegance, replete with fond associations with the beauties of nature. Compared to Westerners, who regard the toilet as utterly unclean and avoid even the mention of it in polite conversation, we are far more sensible and certainly in better taste. The Japanese toilet is, I must admit, a bit inconvenient to get to in the middle of the night, set apart from the main building as it is; and in winter there is always a danger that one might catch cold. But as the poet Saitō Ryokū has said, "elegance is frigid." Better that the place be as chilly as the out-of-doors; the steamy heat of a Western-style toilet in a hotel is most unpleasant.

Anyone with a taste for traditional architecture must agree that the Japanese toilet is perfection. Yet whatever its virtues in a place like a temple, where the dwelling is large, the inhabitants few, and everyone helps with the cleaning, in an ordinary household it is no easy task to keep it clean. No matter how fastidious one may be or how diligently one may scrub, dirt will show, particularly on a floor of wood or tatami matting. And so here too it turns out to be more hygienic and efficient to install modern sanitary facilities—tile and flush toilet—though at the price of destroying all affinity with "good taste" and the "beauties of nature." That burst of light from those four white walls hardly puts one in a mood to relish Sōseki's "physiological delight." There is no denying the cleanliness; every nook and corner is pure white. Yet what need is there to remind us so forcefully of the issue of our own bodies. A beautiful woman, no matter how lovely her skin, would be considered indecent were she to show her bare buttocks or feet in the presence of others; and how very crude and tasteless to expose the toilet to such excessive illumination. The cleanliness of what can be seen only calls up the more clearly thoughts of what cannot be seen. In such places the distinction between the clean and the unclean is best left obscure, shrouded in a dusky haze.

Though I did install modern sanitary facilities when I built my own house, I at least avoided tiles, and had the floor done in camphor wood. To that extent I tried to create a Japanese atmosphere—but was frustrated finally by the toilet fixtures themselves. As everyone knows, flush toilets are made of pure white porcelain and have handles of sparkling metal. Were I able to have things my own way, I would much prefer fixtures—both men's and women's—made of wood. Wood finished in glistening black lacquer is the very best; but even unfinished wood, as it darkens and the grain grows more subtle with the years, acquires an inexplicable power to calm and sooth. The ultimate, of course, is a wooden "morning glory" urinal filled with boughs of cedar; this is a delight to look at and allows not the slightest sound. I could not afford to indulge in such extravagances. I hoped I might at least have the external fittings made to suit my own taste, and then adapt these to a standard flushing mechanism. But the custom labor would have cost so much that I had no choice but to abandon the idea. It was not that I objected to the conveniences of modern civilization, whether electric lights or heating or toilets, but I did wonder at the time why they could not be designed with a bit more consideration for our own habits and tastes.

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The Modern Girl as Militant

by Miriam Silverberg

Note: Slide 4D replicates the picture of the "Modern Traditions" sketch included in this handout.

. . . The Modern Girl stood as the vital symbol of overwhelming "modern" or non-Japanese change instigated by both women and men during an era of economic crisis and social unrest. She stood for change at a time when state authority was attempting to reestablish authority and stability. The Modern Girl of the 1920s and early 1930s thus inverted the role of Good Wife and Wise Mother. The ideal Meiji woman of the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s had served as a "repository of the past," standing for tradition when men were encouraged to change their way of politics and culture in all ways. In contrast, the Modern Girl served critics who wanted to preserve rather than challenge traditions during a time of sweeping cultural change.

The Modern Girl as un-Japanese and therefore criminal was the real subtext to such press headlines as "Modern Girls Swept out of Ministry of Railroads," and "Conquering the *Moga* [Modern Girl] and *Mobo* [Modern Boy]." The sensational press coverage in 1925 of the trail of a "vanguard moga" in short hair and western clothing accused of murdering a delinquent foreigner with whom she had been consorting illustrated both sexual and cultural transgression. This story and others like it served a dual function; they registered unease with non-Japanese customs and at the same time denied the existence of the political activity of Japanese women.

The most graphic example of the Modern Girl as cultural transgressor, one that signaled an end to her ubiquitous presence, was presented in a series of ink drawings constituting a history of Japanese mores during the modern era, published in the pages of *Chūō kōron* in 1932. . . . It is the illustration (on the next page) that reveals the intensity with which tradition was being defended by the early 1930s. Alongside the calligraphy of the title is a woman in kimono sheathed in fur; above her head is a large gun, pointed at the characters for "modern traditions."

The Modern Girl stood for a contemporary woman, but . . . she was also an emblem for threats to tradition, just as the Good Wife and Wise Mother had stood for its endurance: To talk about the Modern Girl was to talk about Modernity. During the 1920s, her

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Excerpted from Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant" in Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, pp. 263-265. Copyright 1991 The Regents of The University of California. Reprinted with permission.

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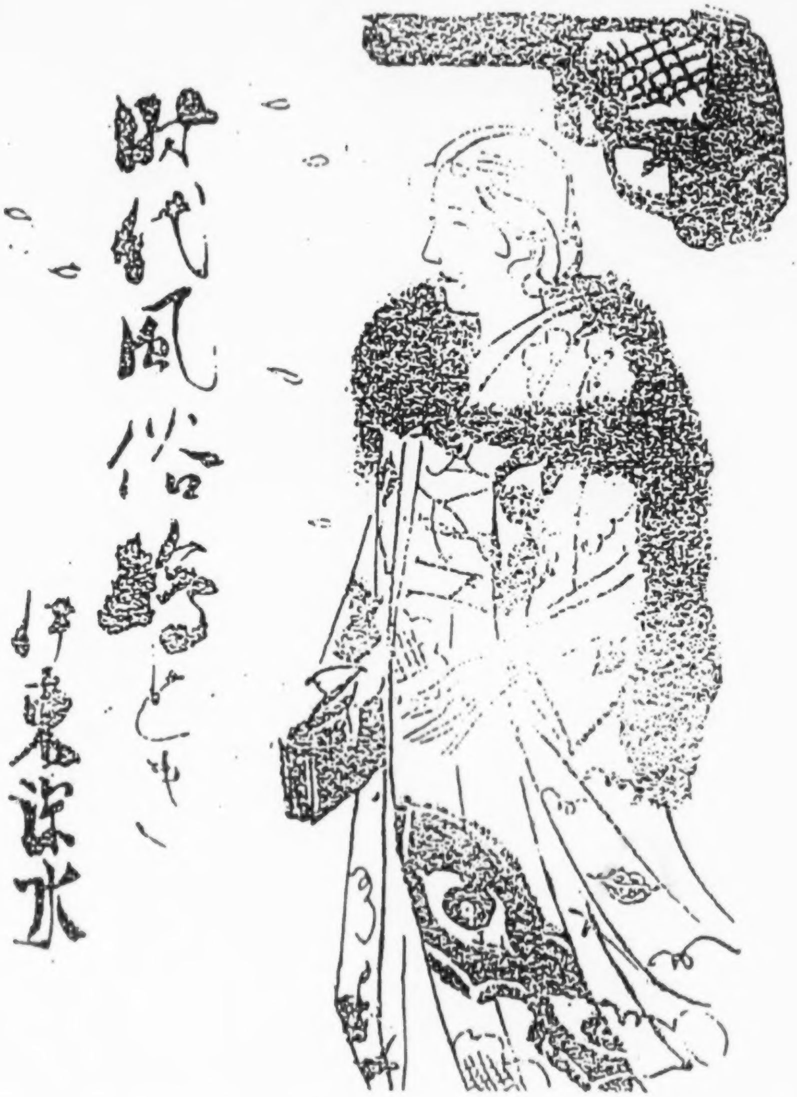

"Modern Traditions"
from *Chūō kōron*, April 1932

defenders, who saw her at the vanguard of a new imperial reign—the Shōwa era—were optimistic. One, who placed her appearance at 1926, saw her evolving toward complete fulfillment. This journalist predicted that future historians writing the history of prewar men and women in Japan would call the year when the term *modan gaaru* appeared in magazines and newspapers "1 a.d." But such forecasts did not prove true. By the outset of the Pacific War, boundaries reifying gender and culture (and denying class) were imposed as women were legally forbidden to dress in men's clothing, women's magazines were placed under tight controls, all vestiges of Western decadence, including permanent waves, were outlawed, and intellectuals expounded on "the overcoming of modernity."

Handout 4E
Page 1 of 1

Two Works by Onchi Koshiro

Note: Use this reading in conjunction with Slides 4E and 4F. Onchi Koshiro (1891-1955), one of Japan's first nonrepresentational artists, was also a printmaker, poet, book designer, and theorist on art. He studied both oil painting and sculpture at what is now Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music, but left without graduating. Together with two of his friends and classmates, Onchi founded a poetry and print magazine. He also designed the first edition of his friend Hagiwara Sakutaro's 1917 book of poems (see below). Onchi's prints—these slides represent only two of his works—are usually divided into three groups: traditional subjects, abstractions, and portraits.

Oyasumi Nasai (Slide 4E) is part of a series, *Lyrique No. 2: Lyrics on Musical Compositions*, which the artist thought to be one of his major works. Inspired by a musical composition by the same title, Onchi printed *Oyasumi Nasai*. Like other art that he printed, it does not represent a figure or anything in nature. He created the series while listening to music composed by 19th- and 20th-century European and Japanese composers. Due to the Japanese government's ban on certain types of art during the 1930s and '40s, Onchi stopped making abstract art, returning to it only after the end of Japan's Pacific War.

Portrait of Hagiwara Sakutaro (Slide 4F) was printed in 1943. Onchi began making portraits in the late 1930s. The subject of this print is one of Onchi's close friends who died in 1942, Hagiwara Sakutaro, credited with establishing modern colloquial poetry in Japan. Onchi's portrait style uses color and strong lines to show the mood and personality of his subjects. *Portrait of Hagiwara Sakutaro* is an intensely private portrait of Hagiwara.

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Role Play Guidelines: *The River Ki*

Players: Hana and Fumio, villagers, perhaps the river as narrator.

The River Ki is a novel written by Ariyoshi Sawako (1931-1984) in 1981. Despite the recent publication date, Ariyoshi wrote convincingly about the members of a wealthy Japanese family and events in their lives from the turn of the century through the Pacific War. Her novel focuses on three women: Hana, the traditional mother; Fumio, her rebellious eldest daughter; and Hanako, the granddaughter who might be seen as balancing the two characters. (The granddaughter does not appear in these scenes).

You are free to imagine further what these women are like and how their feelings and the forces of history around them influenced and shaped their relationships. These selected scenes took place in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s.

Some points you might want to consider:

- What is the relationship between the two women? What difference does the relationship make?
- What are the subjects/conflicts identified by the author and discussed by the women?
- What are the major events in Japan during the 1920s-1940s? (Refer to the time line in this unit's introductory essay.) Do they make a difference to women? Do they make a difference in terms of the argument between the women? Do the events create the conflicts?

Assignment: Using the selected passages, construct a dialogue between the two players—using villagers and possibly the river, as well—that will give your classmates insight into the conflicts that the situation represents. Each of you should assume a role in a mini-play that illustrates what the conflicts are in the situations, what larger questions they represent, whether they are Japan-specific or universal, and how and why they were or might be resolved.

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Role Play Guidelines: Ise Shrine and the Imperial Hotel

Players: A national committee (any number) responsible for welcoming foreign visitors.

The Ise Shrine and Imperial Hotel were important landmarks in Japan during the 1920s, '30s, and '40s. The Inner Shrine of the former, according to myth, houses the sacred mirror given by the Sun Goddess to Japan's first emperor. The latter, designed and built by the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, was one of few Tokyo buildings to survive the earthquake of 1923 and became a meeting place for East and West. Dismantled in the 1960s to make way for a new high-rise Imperial Hotel, the facade and lobby now stand on the grounds of Meiji-Mura, an open-air museum in central Japan.

Study slides 4B and 4C and the descriptions of the Ise Shrine and the Imperial Hotel. Imagine that you are a committee of Japanese officials responsible during the 1920s and '30s for welcoming foreign guests to Osaka, one of Japan's largest cities. A delegation of dignitaries from a Western nation will arrive in your city within the next several months to discuss a number of topics of mutual interest. In deciding their itinerary, you want to arrange for them to visit a site of which your country is proud. Your committee has narrowed the choices to Ise Shrine and the Imperial Hotel, both of which are some distance from Osaka. Unfortunately, there is not enough time to visit both, for the schedule is tight; you must choose. Where will you take them, and how will you explain your choice?

To make your decision, you must consider:

- What are the issues at stake?
- How do you want Westerners to see your country?
- What factors are most important in making the decision?
- Does the fact that it is the 1920s or 1930s make a difference in your decision?

Assignment: Construct a dialogue among the players that will give your classmates insight into the conflict that the situation represents. Each of you should assume a role in a mini-play that illustrates what the conflicts are in the situation, what larger questions they represent, whether they are Japan-specific or universal, and how and why they were resolved as they were.

Role Play Guidelines: "In Praise of Shadows"

Players: two characters, representing the struggle within Tanizaki's mind.

In 1933 and 1934, the famous Japanese author Tanizaki Junichirō wrote the essay "In Praise of Shadows." In it, he tells of spending a good deal of money building a house, an undertaking that forced him to make decisions about such mundane things as lighting and fixtures. At the same time, the endeavor brought to mind larger issues, such as the clash between East and West.

Read the few pages of the essay, keeping in mind that the English word "bath," rather than "toilet," is closer to what Tanizaki is describing. You should feel free to elaborate upon Tanizaki's statements, as long as your elaboration is in keeping with the spirit of his words.

Some questions you might want to consider before beginning the assignment:

- What major catastrophe in the 1920s resulted in massive rebuilding in Japan?
- How might that event have affected the author's thinking?
- How might the frequently quoted phrase of the Meiji period, "Japanese spirit, Western technology" pertain to this dilemma?
- What does the title of the essay imply?

Assignment: Construct a discussion between the players that will give your classmates insight into the conflict that the situation represents. Each of you should assume a role in a mini-play that illustrates what the conflicts are in the situation, what larger questions they represent, whether they are Japan-specific or universal, and how and why they were resolved as they were.

Note: After you answer the questions and decide the dialogue of the role play, ask your teacher to show you an excerpt from the translator's notes that follow the essay (page 158 in the teacher's book).

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Role Play Guidelines: The Modern Girl

Players: Modern Girl or "moga" of the 1920s and 1930s; the media of the same period, represented by *Chūō kōron*; the Japanese government.

The ideal Meiji woman of the 1870s through 1890s was a "Good Wife, Wise Mother." She stood for tradition, while the Modern Girl of the 1920s and 1930s challenged the tradition of the times. This is not to suggest that all women in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s were considered—or considered themselves—moga. Nonetheless, the Modern Girl was an important presence: she "stood for a contemporary woman. . . . (and) was also an emblem for threats to tradition, just as Good Wife and Wise Mother had stood for its endurance."[1]

Before beginning the assignment, study the sketch of "Modern Traditions" on Handout 4D to decide:

- what the woman is wearing;
- what her dress suggests;
- what the ideographs (characters) stand for;
- why the gun is in the illustration; and
- what the message of the illustration is.

Re-read Handout 4D, "The Modern Girl as Militant," (with the help of a dictionary) to decide:

- what it means to instigate;
- what a subtext is;
- what it means to be in the vanguard;
- what a cultural transgressor is;
- what is meant by ubiquitous presence;
- what (Japanese) mores are;
- what calligraphy is;
- what is meant by reifying;
- what vestiges are; and
- what decadence is.

Assignment: Construct a discussion among the players that will give your classmates insight into the conflict that the situation represents. Each of you should assume a role in a mini-play that illustrates what the conflicts are in the situation, what larger questions they represent, whether they are Japan-specific or universal, and how you think they were resolved in the late 1930s and 1940s.

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[1] Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," in Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, p. 264.

Role Play Guidelines: Onchi Koshiro

Players: The artist Onchi Koshiro and Japan's wartime government.

Study Slide 4E, *Oyasumi Nasai*, part of the series *Lyrique No. 2: Lyrics on Musical Compositions*, begun in 1932. In creating the series, which he considered one of his major works, Onchi commented that art is of the heart, not of the mind. He printed the pieces while listening to music created by 19th and 20th century European and Japanese composers.

Onchi stopped making abstract art, however, returning to it only after World War II. Government authorities had imposed conformity on the arts, banning first proletarian art, later disbanding an association of Western-style painters, and forcing the Free Artists Association to delete the word "free" from its name.

In 1943, during the war with the United States, Onchi printed *Portrait of Hagiwara Sakutaro*, Slide 4F. The subject is one of Onchi's close friends.

Some issues you may want to consider before beginning the assignment:

- What are the arguments for censorship during wartime?
- What kinds of laws are necessary in order to prevent groups or individuals from undermining a war effort?
- What are reasonable limitations on freedom when a country is at war?
- Why might Onchi have felt comfortable printing the portrait of his friend in 1943, but delayed until 1946 printing *Oyasumi Nasai*?

Assignment: Create a dialogue between the players that will give your classmates insight into the conflict that the situation represents. Each of you should assume a role in a miniplay that illustrates what the conflicts are in the situation, what larger questions they represent, whether they are Japan-specific or universal, and how they might have been resolved.

Analysis Sheet

- Identify the setting, characters, and what/whom they represent.

- Describe the tensions/conflicts within, between, or among them.

- Identify reasons for the tensions/conflicts.

- Consider what larger issues for society might be represented in the tensions/conflicts.

- Decide whether the conflicts and issues are specific to Japanese culture in the early 20th century—or general, that is, present within any culture, at any time.

- Suggest ways that the conflicts might be/have been resolved.

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The Social and Cultural Scene: A Quiz

Name or define:

1. Japan's most sacred shrine, located in Mie prefecture, that houses many symbols of the Shinto religion.

2. The American who was strongly influenced by Japanese architecture and who designed the Imperial Hotel in downtown Tokyo.

3. The "cultural transgressor" as used in the lesson.

4. One of two building materials that conflicted with one another in the essay "In Praise of Shadows."

5. Japan's largest plain, located on the Pacific seaboard of Honshu, the main island.

6. The term used when governments (or other authorized sources) remove or suppress that which is considered morally or otherwise objectionable.

7. The country that won the most battles in the Russo-Japanese War.

8. The name of a famous Japanese author whose novel *The Makioka Sisters* and essay "In Praise of Shadows" define some of the tensions in Japanese society in the 1930s.

9. A slogan representing the ideal woman during the Meiji period in Japan.

10. The name of a river in the title of a novel by Ariyoshi Sawako that features mother-daughter relationships in the first half of this century.

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Resources on Imperial Japan

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